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FINAL REPORT ON THE EVALUATION OF THE TORONTO MINI-STATION PILOT PROJECT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The evaluation of the Toronto mini-station pilot project examined the process by which the mini-station was implemented during its first year of operation, and the extent to which it met its goals and objectives.

ORIGINS AND MANDATE OF THE MINI-STATION

The Toronto mini-station was officially opened on May 30, 1983, to operate as a pilot project for an initial term of two years. The specific terms of reference for its implementation were drawn up by a Staff Working Group, established by a Joint Committee of the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Commissioners of Police and the Community Services and Housing Committee.

A number of different parties, and so perspectives, were involved in the establishment of the mini-station and concerned with its success. These include:

- the Metropolitan Toronto Multicultural Relations Office and the City of Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations;
- the Metropolitan Toronto Department of Community Services, Community Services Development Unit;
- senior officers of the Metro Toronto Police Force and Headquarter's staff from Community Programs and Planning and Research; and
- staff of 5 District Community Planning and Community Services Officers from Divisions 54 and 55.

The mini-station's overall goal was "to build an enhanced understanding of a police/community partnership". Further definition of this goal was provided in the form of six objectives:

- to provide an experimental model for a community-oriented police facility which increases positive community involvement with police;
- to provide an opportunity for increased citizen participation in crime prevention programs;
- to provide access for residents to the full range of policing services;
- to provide an opportunity for police to increase their understanding of neighbourhood requirements;
- to provide a co-location opportunity with other community services; and
- to maintain efficient deployment of police resources.

The objectives and guidelines agreed to for the mini-station provided a general framework for its development. How these objectives and guidelines were to be implemented was not spelled out in any detail. The process which has led to the present structure and set of activities has been an evolutionary one, in response to the needs and characteristics of the community; decisions regarding staffing; and the ideas and commitment of a number of those involved with the operation of the station.

The site for the mini-station, at 1484 Danforth Avenue, was determined on the basis of availability. The space was already leased by Metropolitan Toronto and was made available to the Force at no cost. The police share the space with another community service program as a co-locator.

The geographic area for which the mini-station is responsible overlaps two Police Divisions. This is particularly important, given that the mini-station was established at the same time that major changes were occurring in the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force with respect to the institution of zone policing. Organizational changes associated with the

implementation of zone policing continued throughout the evolution of the pilot mini-station.

EVALUATION OF THE PILOT PROJECT

The terms of reference for the evaluation of the pilot program specified that the evaluation should focus on the six general objectives set forth for the mini-station. In addition to examining the impact of the mini-station with respect to these objectives, the evaluation addressed process issues which emerged during the start-up and implementation of the pilot project. It was recognized that the process issues would have a bearing on the impact of the pilot project and would, more importantly, inform any future efforts at implementing similar strategies.

Data for the evaluation was obtained through:

- interviews with police and community service personnel involved with and responsible for the mini-station;
- interviews with police officers involved in regular patrol duty in the zones covered by the mini-station;
- a review of police logs and documentation relating to programs and activities of the mini-station officers and zone officers doing regular patrol; and
- community surveys which included interviews with 559 residents and 113 businesses located in the community, as well as 98 school children, 5 community organizations and 56 on-site interviews with visitors at the mini-station.

EVALUATION FINDINGS

There were limitations in assessing the impact of the mini-station with any precision. These limitations were a function of the fact that:

- clear goals and objectives were not set for the mini-station in terms of the nature or level of expected impacts or in terms of the specific programs the mini-station officers were to pursue; and
- there existed no baseline data against which changes in terms of community attitudes, perceptions or behaviour could be assessed.

In general terms, the evaluation showed that the mini-station has been enthusiastically received by the community. This response is based on the general crime prevention and community relations activities of the mini-station, as well as the public's desire to have their community policed in a traditional sense (i.e., high visibility of police in the neighbourhood).

Specifically, the evaluation found the following:

- The mini-station has provided crime prevention, community relations and enforcement/investigation service to the community. It provides an opportunity for more police-community contact on both an individual and group basis. Not only is there **more community exposure to police**, but the **exposure is broader** in terms of range of service.
- The mini-station provided a **focus and impetus for outreach by police into the community.** In addition to work with schools and community organizations, the mini-station assisted the work of the Crime Prevention Officers by becoming the focal point for contacting citizens and disseminating material for Neighbourhood Watch.
- Residents in the mini-station area are **marginally more likely to participate in crime prevention programs and activities.** Community members, in general, showed little motivation to seek out or utilize police resources other than those related to investigation and

enforcement. The level of concern about safety in the community was not such that there was a strong predisposition for community members to become involved in crime programs. For those members of the community who are motivated to participate in crime prevention, the mini-station has provided a convenient and useful resource for information and service.

- Residents in the area of the mini-station have a high level of awareness of crime prevention programs and recognize the need for greater community involvement in these. While the mini-station **may have increased an already high level of awareness**, this has not been translated into high levels of involvement. This finding reflects results achieved in most other community policing projects.

- Community members are more likely to utilize the mini-station, and to bring a broader range of requests to it, than other police stations because of proximity, convenience and the positive atmosphere. For community members living in the immediate vicinity of the mini-station, there was clearly **easier access to police services related to crime prevention and some areas of law enforcement.**

- The mini-station officers, in both their proactive and reactive activities, have been able to identify and respond to community needs. Because of their role and their own personal initiatives, they are **more aware of and able to respond to broader community concerns** than are the regular zone officers whose primary focus is on enforcement. These community interests include:

    - more police contact with children and provision of safety/streetproofing information;

    - high levels of police visibility (particularly foot patrol;

    - the opportunity for positive informal police-public interaction;

    - specific 'target hardening' crime prevention information.

- The **co-location experiment has shown no evidence of enhancing the provision of either Police or Community Service programs.** Because of space, noise and other

operational issues, it appears to have been more of a distraction than a benefit to this pilot program.

- The **crime rate within a few blocks of the mini-station is lowered** by the police visibility resulting from the existence of the station and the foot patrol activities of the officers. Otherwise, there is no indication that changes in crime rates have occurred in the broader area covered by the mini-station.

Organization and Staffing

From an organizational standpoint, the mini-station was intended to be an integral part of the division command structure and, hence, the newly developing zone structure. A number of factors obscured the reporting relationship, not the least of which was the fact that the station was located on the boundary of two divisions. This posed problems in terms of authority and responsibility overlap.

The mini-station was never fully integrated into the activities of the zone. During the first few months of its existence, it was, in fact, quite isolated. This situation was recognized and steps were taken in an effort to further integrate the mini-station. The difficulties with integration, however, are not surprising, given that the mini-station was introduced as an "add on" rather than as a development which arose from zone objectives and needs.

Staffing of the mini-station has been an important issue from the outset. Much of the station's success is due to the commitment, effort and initiative of the officers who have been based there. Experience shows that staffing decisions must be made with care. Officers must be enthusiastic about this kind of police work and must have the particular skills which are required to relate to individuals and groups in the community. As well, the early experience of the mini-station showed clearly that a complement of three officers was not sufficient to enable the mini-station to take a

proactive role in the community. With the present complement of six officers, outreach activities are possible.

There was initial uncertainty as to what was expected of the mini-station officers, on the part both of the officers themselves and of others involved with the initiative. The statement that the mini-station should provide access to a full range of police services raised, for example, discussion as to whether this should be a full service police station or should focus on community relations and crime prevention.

Study results, in fact, show that the mini-station has engaged in the full range of police activities. The mini-station has indeed become a focus for crime prevention and community relations activities within the area. At the same time, however, the community itself clearly expects the officers to provide police services related to enforcement, investigation and patrol.

Co-Location

The co-location between Community Services programs and the police was considered an important element in the mini-station concept. It was hoped that there would be advantages for both sides, serving as a mutually beneficial learning experience and helping to de-institutionalize the image of the police in the minds of citizens in the community. The idea of co-location was that community-based groups should feel comfortable sharing offices with police, that police knowledge of referral possibilities would increase, and that duplication of services could gradually be eliminated.

In general, the co-location experience turned out to be a source of considerable tension and frustration throughout the two co-locator experiments. Problems occurred relating to noise, lack of privacy,

overcrowding and tension between staff. Moreover, there was little co-ordination between services and little awareness of or use of the co-located services by visitors to the mini-station. In addition to operational problems related to physical space, no planning was done prior to co-location in terms of either orientation or identifying the nature of possible joint programming and co-ordination.

Cost-Effectiveness

Decisions regarding the mini-station, while influenced by the consideration of cost savings, were not usually influenced by factors related to cost-effectiveness. The major cost associated with the mini-station has been staff. (There are now six officers permanently assigned to the mini-station.) Judgements regarding the cost-effectiveness of the mini-station can only be made where there is a relatively explicit statement as to the objectives and expected outcomes, and where resourcing decisions are made expressly with these in mind. Given that these conditions did not prevail, no real estimate of cost-effectiveness is possible in the current evaluation.

EVALUATION CONCLUSIONS

Two factors more than any others seem to influence the nature and likely success of a community policing project of this kind -- location and front-end planning. The two factors are, in fact, interrelated and are important considerations, not only for the current pilot project, but also for any future decisions to implement similar projects. In this regard, researchers in the community policing field have noted an apparent lack of significant measurable success from various types of community policing projects. There is a growing feeling that this may be due to the 'ad hoc' approach to implementation in which 'good ideas' are put into effect without adequate planning.

In the current situation there was no systematic assessment of policing needs in the community prior to the decision on location and program of the mini-station. The mini-station was introduced as a stand-alone pilot project rather than as a planned response to specific needs in a specific community.

Further, a major consideration in the choice of location for this pilot project was the existing storefront space which could be made available to the Force at no direct cost. Findings of the evaluation revealed a number of community characteristics which have direct implications in terms of what could be expected from the mini-station in its current location.

- There was no evidence of a **community relations** problem which required focused attention in the community. While it is clear that the mini-station strengthened existing positive attitudes, the extent to which this was needed or, in fact, could be measurably improved is questionable.
- The level of involvement in **crime prevention** activities was considered to be low at the time the location was chosen. While there appears to have been a marginal increase in community involvement in crime prevention, the fact that there was not a greater impact is not surprising given what is known about the relationship between concern about crime and involvement in prevention.
- It is clear that the **visibility** of police in the immediate vicinity has had an impact on crime. Had there been a significant level of street crime in the area to begin with, the impact would probably have been even greater.

Given the location and approach to planning of the mini-station, two conclusions can be drawn:

- Overall, given the characteristics of the community in which it was located, the mini-station probably achieved as much as could be expected in that location during its first year of operation.

- Ultimately, for a community policing strategy such as a mini-station to be cost-effective, it must emerge from and respond to policing service delivery needs in a particular geographic area. In Toronto, this clearly requires planning and decision-making at the zone level. Such planning at the zone level involves an assessment of zone policing needs within the context of overall Force policy and objectives and requires input from the community itself in defining community problems and needs.

The results of this evaluation are borne out by the experiences of other jurisdictions which suggest that a very focused and targeted approach to crime prevention is required if there is to be a major impact. Certainly, community policing initiatives such as this must remain flexible in order to respond to community needs. Nonetheless, without more specific guidelines and focus, the program may generate considerable positive community response but have no real input in terms of crime prevention or delivery of policing services.

Previous work shows that different types of policing strategies work more effectively in some communities than in others. There is no one model, even of mini-stations, that is appropriate in all cases. The decision to pursue any strategy must be made on a case-by-case basis, taking into account the characteristics and needs of the local community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Metropolitan Toronto Police Force should consider the mini-station option as one of a number of legitimate community policing strategies for responding to clearly identified policing needs emerging from Force and zone planning activities. The option should not be used simply to promote general community policing objectives - the costs associated with the strategy are justifiable only in the context of furthering specific zone objectives.

2. Given the current situation in the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, any decisions regarding establishment of other mini-stations should emerge only from planning at the zone level, within the context of overall Force policy and objectives.

   2.1 The location and program of the station should be designed as a specific response to an identified policing service need in that zone (whether that be law enforcement, crime prevention or community relations). The zone planning activities should include community input.

   2.2 An assessment should be made to determine:

   - the nature and level of crime;
   - the nature and level of concern about safety and crime;
   - specific needs or problems in terms of particular geographic locations or particular target groups;
   - community attitudes toward police and policing needs;
   - the level of community cohesiveness;
   - the number and scope of existing community organizations.

This information will assist in determining whether a mini-station is an appropriate strategy for that community and what the objectives and programs of the mini-station should be.

2.3 Other options (e.g., intensive foot patrol, expanding the resources and mandate of crime prevention officers, etc.) for delivery of the identified service need should be considered and compared on the basis of costs and benefits and complementarity or overlap with existing services in the zone.

3. If a mini-station is judged to be the appropriate option in response to an identified community need, then the following should be undertaken:

- Baseline data on community needs, attitudes and behaviours should be established.
- The option (including role, location and program) should be designed in a very focused fashion in terms of specific objectives and priorities and a specific timeframe.
- A budget adequate for programming needs should be established.
- The mini-station's activities should be integrated within the zone.

4. Co-location should not be considered a necessary component of the mini-station option. Depending on the objectives of any particular mini-station, some model to facilitate community involvement may be desirable. Options include co-location, use of community facilities, and use of volunteers and auxiliaries. Decision-making about such options should include an assessment of:

- specific objectives of the community involvement;
- expected benefits and outcomes;
- operational constraints related to program activities;
- complementarity of programs and staff; and

- procedures for orienting participants and for ensuring constructive communication and co-operation.

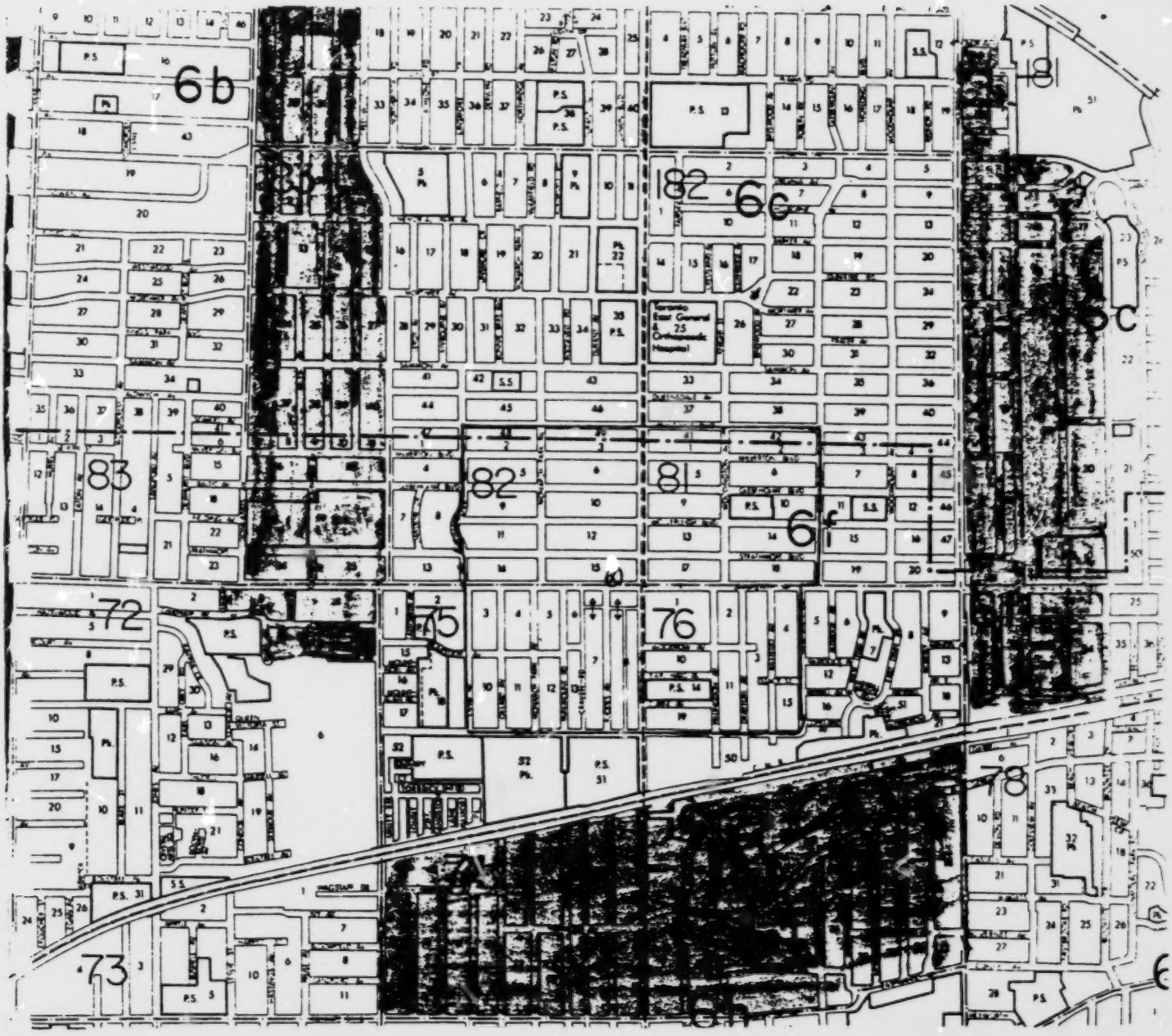
5. Staffing of a mini-station in terms of both numbers of officers and their skills must be determined on the basis of the role, objectives and programs of the particular mini-station.

6. In light of recommendations 1-5, it would be inappropriate for a decision to be made about continuation of the mini-station at 1484 Danforth Avenue without the required planning and assessment by the Divisions involved in the context of the Force's policy and objectives and available resources.

6.1 The Divisions involved should undertake planning and assessment to determine whether the current location meets zone needs and priorities, in light of the positive community response to the mini-station and, at the same time, what appear to be marginal benefits. The overall policy and objectives of the Force and the available resources must also be taken into consideration.

COMMUNITY SURVEY MAP

mandated mini-station area
area outside mini-station area
mini-station
immediate vicinity of the mini-station



CHAPTER 1 - BACKGROUND

This evaluation of the Toronto mini-station pilot project has to be seen in the context of:

- the overall trend to community-based policing in both North America and Europe; and
- the 1981-82 Hickling-Johnston study of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force and the initiatives which have resulted from it.

The literature that has grown up around the area of community-based policing provides useful, if sometimes contradictory, information about the rationale for community-based policing, the different forms it has taken, and the various criteria of success applied to it. An assessment of the operation of the Toronto mini-station can be informed by the experiences of other community-based policing programs and the concepts which underlie them.

One such program, the Detroit mini-station system, is described in some detail since it was through observation of that model that the proposal for the Toronto project emerged.

Finally, the 1981-82 Hickling-Johnston study of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force provides an important and immediate context. The findings of that study and the Metropolitan Toronto Police Management Plan which has resulted from it have implications for both the role and the operation of the mini-station. For this reason, an overview of relevant findings and recommendations is provided.

COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

The Rationale

During the past thirty years, methods of policing have been rethought and redesigned in an attempt to address the problems of urban crime and an escalation of policing costs. Until quite recently, these methods, intended to facilitate police productivity, have generally involved an increase in the mobility of police officers, improved communications and information exchange among police officers, and an emphasis on specialization. (Wasson, 1975; Parkinson, 1978; Vanagunas, 1981; Wycoff et al., 1982.)

As the literature makes clear, however, these revised police methods created their own problems for both the police and the community. In an attempt to rethink these approaches, there is renewed speculation in the literature as to the relation between public confidence in and cooperation with the police and the success of crime prevention and detection in a given community. (Wasson, 1975; Alderson, 1977, 1981; Brown, 1981; Koenig et al., 1982; Goldstein, 1977.)

One noted researcher summarizes the situation thusly:

> "the effectiveness of police action obviously depends very much on whether police strategy is acceptable (to the public) in terms of "justness" and appropriate techniques .... the primary condition for this is that the police should strive for optimum cooperation in the community they serve. They should aim at close contact with the public that will give rise to more permanent and personal relationships. This, in turn, will induce greater faith in the skill and justness of policing" (Punch, 1983. p.39).

It is for these reasons that a shift with respect to policing methods is taking place within many police forces. More specifically, the experiments

in community-based policing have their origins in a number of related concerns and assumptions:

- **the role of the police officer:** there is a sense that the role of the police officer in many forces has become reactive and thus increasingly less effective with respect to both crime prevention and detection. This also involves a perceived problem with the police officer's feeling of status and with the morale of police forces in general;
- **the relation between the public and the police:** there is a concern that, in some communities, public confidence in the police has been eroded and, in particular, that communication between the public and police, important to crime prevention and detection, has been impaired. The apparent benefits of mobility and quick response time through the use of automobiles is contrasted to the apparent 'barrier' they form between the public and the police.
- **resources:** given the budget restraints of the past ten years, police resources are increasingly taxed, and there is renewed interest in the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of policing strategies.

The various approaches to community-based policing have sought to address these concerns in a number of different ways. All, however, have devised strategies and structures to enhance the relationship between the public and police, with the goal of forwarding crime prevention and detection in a rational and cost-efficient way. (Weatheritt, 1982; Wasson, 1975; Solicitor General Canada, 1982.)

Approaches

A number of approaches to enhancing community-police relations have been taken. These have been implemented as short- or long-term projects, often on an experimental basis and usually involving some form of ongoing evaluation. They have ranged from image-building programs, which involve communication of information to the community or between the police and community, to the introduction of public involvement programs,

reorganization of police operations, and re-education of individual police officers. (Wasson, 1975; Weatheritt, 1982; Broer and van der Vijuer, 1983.)

These approaches to community policing may be more specifically described as:

- **development of community relations/crime prevention programs:** These programs involve the police with the community in crime prevention activities, in an effort to improve the policing of a given community. They assume that if surveillance is sufficient, offenders will be deterred or have little opportunity to commit an undetected crime; and that where potential targets of crime can be identified, means of protection against criminal activity can be devised and taken.

  Examples of such programs, conducted in both the United States and Canada, include Neighbourhood Watch, Business Watch, Block Parents, and Operation Identification. Such programs are often augmented by initiatives on the part of the police to improve their relations and image with the community.

- **development of new structures and methods of police operation:** This approach assumes that police organization and resource deployment strategies have a direct impact on police community relations and on effective crime prevention. It assumes that the objective of the police force to prevent crime and traffic accidents cannot be carried out without a high level of communication and understanding between the public and police. Further, it attempts to provide a more integrated and long-term approach to community relations and crime prevention than do other, more limited programs.

  This approach, examples of which include the mini-station and team policing structures, usually involves a number of large-scale changes in a police force's approach to administration, staffing, resourcing, etc.

- **a change in emphasis with respect to the police officer's training and responsibilities:** These changes are made in the context of a perceived need to make officers more effective in their relations with community members and to direct their efforts towards crime prevention. In some cases, selected officers are

retrained and reassigned, for instance, to work specifically with youths and troubled families. In other cases, it is assumed that every police officer is involved in community relations, and all officers are therefore involved in, for example, continuing education programs, Operation Empathy programs, etc.*

Youth-oriented programs are often a particular focus for police in their community relations efforts, with the assumption that crime prevention programs among young offenders, and potential young offenders, have a relatively high chance of success.

Success

Evaluations suggest that where community-based policing has been introduced, it has met with varying degrees of success. Evaluations of such programs have been vexed with the problems of measuring success in an area where the evidence is often incomplete and the criteria of success sometimes abstract. (Weatheritt, 1982; Wasson, 1975; Parkinson, 1978; Goldstein, 1981.)

Nevertheless, a number of studies have noted perceptible improvements in the operating style of police and the delivery of police services as a consequence of these programs. Advances include:

- improved job satisfaction and increased initiative among officers;
- improved public attitudes toward the police. This is reflected in better communication between the public and police, fewer assaults on the police, and a decline in citizen complaints against the police. In these instances, there is also evidence to suggest that police service to the public has improved.

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* The models of community policing described above have been extrapolated from case studies and general discussions in Weatheritt, 1982; Wasson, 1975; Goldstein, 1981; Broer and van der Vijuer, 1983; Radelet, 1973, 1980; Brown, 1970; Petrunik, 1982; Fishe, 1983.

- significant cost savings, as the result of a more effective use of manpower and reduced amounts of sick leave, overtime, and turnover.

Research studies, in identifying problems with programs meeting their objectives, have provided a number of suggestions for increasing the chances of success. (Wasson, 1975; Sherman et al., 1973; Bloch and Specht, 1973). These include:

- an awareness that the evolution of an improved relationship between the police and the public is gradual;
- the need for real commitment by both local officers and senior officers to community policing programs and an understanding of their operation and objectives;
- a need for the geographical stability of the patrol and continuity in staffing;
- the minimization of specialization, and a general emphasis on decentralization; and
- the importance of internal police department communications, including the need to maximize interaction and information exchange among team members.

Research also suggests a number of community characteristics which are linked to success in obtaining citizen involvement in crime prevention activities: existing community cohesiveness; nature and level of crime; level of concern about crime; and existing community organizations.

Despite the amount of work done in the area, a discussion of community policing in the United Kingdom suggests that insufficient data exist to support many of the larger claims made for community policing (Weatheritt, 1982). It also argues that the public debate on policing "can never be restricted to matters of substance, since substance and image are

inextricably entwined". The study goes on to conclude that:

> "Because our policing traditions place such strong emphasis on the importance of policing by consent, policing has always been about creating and sustaining an image for itself which would find acceptance, if not favour, with the various publics which are policed. It is one of the great merits of community policing that it appears to do this remarkably well."

Studies from the United States demonstrate similar findings. At the same time, however, while some community policing models have been seen to have an impact on the public's attitudes with respect to the police and to the perceived safety of their neighbourhoods, there is little evidence to date to suggest that there is an impact on overall crime rates or citizen involvement in crime prevention activities. (G.L. Kelling, 1983; N.I.L.E.C.J., 1977; Radelet, 1980;)

Findings from the recent Canadian Urban Victimization Survey (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1984) show that the wide variations in citizen awareness of and involvement in crime prevention programs could not be explained by local police initiatives.

> ".... the efforts of some local police forces in promoting these* and other programs in the two years preceding the survey were reflected in the high awareness levels of the residents. Other residents were less well-informed despite similar attempts by local police to promote these programs. Some residents were well-informed without the benefit of locally sponsored police programs" (p.8, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey Bulletin 3, 1984).

It has become increasingly evident that extensive planning is required if community policing programs are to have any demonstrable impact. Community

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* The programs examined included Neighbourhood Watch, Operation Identification and Block Parent.

policing and crime prevention strategies must be designed and implemented in response to known and specific community needs.

> "....community crime prevention programs must tailor their approach and organization to the social structure and problems of the particular area. Standardized programs that do not take into account the characteristics of local networks, the willingness of residents to cooperate with one another, the community's organizational resources, and the diversity of definitions of local problems are almost certainly doomed to failure" (p.8, S. Greenberg, et al., 1983).

Awareness and Behaviour: An extensive evaluation of the Alberta government's 1978 crime prevention campaign through mass media (Silverman and Sacco, 1980) indicates that while it is possible to increase citizens' awareness and knowledge of crime prevention issues, this does not "immediately translate itself into either attitudinal or behavioural change" (p. 131). The authors further point out that crime prevention campaigns are an "attempt to sell an abstract and future-oriented commodity" (p. 133) which will not significantly alter lifestyle or "old habits", unless there is an existing or potential motivation to change behaviour (through a salient interest in or concern about crime victimization). The Alberta study suggests that "attempts to change attitudes and behaviour relating to crime prevention may be effective only if the issue of crime is salient to the audience"(p. 135)

Findings from the recent Canadian Urban Victimization Survey (Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canada, 1982) indicate that awareness of community-based crime prevention programs is much higher than actual participation in them. While 51% of the Canadians surveyed are aware of the Operation Identification program, for example, only 15% actually participate in the program. The study concludes: "Experience has taught us that such programs work most effectively when they are based upon a detailed assessment of local crime patterns and when they have widespread community support" (p. 8, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, Bulletin 3, 1984).

Citizen Feelings of Safety: Another recent Canadian evaluation of a "neighbourhood police team" experiment (based in Regina, 1978) established that a relationship did exist between fear of crime and actual rate of victimization, though not in the expected direction. The study shows that fear of crime levels was higher among downtown residents than those in more suburban areas, where, in fact, probability of victimization was higher.

Another study of a crime prevention program (in Hartford, Conn. - see Mangione & Fowler, 1983) confirms that fear of crime and likelihood of victimization are not necessarily closely related. The researchers found that while actual crime rates had increased over the two-year study period, neighbourhood residents' fear of crime declined significantly. This drop was explained by indirect results achieved through the crime prevention efforts, which increased the degree of social organization and informal social control which residents had developed.

Finally, a study by Lavrakas (1983) concerning a crime prevention program conducted in Chicago indicates that citizen participation in proactive crime prevention efforts is most likely to occur in neighbourhoods where "some" problems were experienced rather than in those with severe problems. The author speculates that residents believed minor problems (such as vagrancy, prostitution, etc.) could be coped with, but that they thought serious, violent crime was beyond their control or responsibility.

Recent work in the U.S. suggests that there may be a level of "concern" about crime that mobilizes citizens to take part in crime prevention programs and a level of "fear" of crime that inhibits proactive crime prevention behaviour. It is as yet not certain what specific attitudes lead people to take precautions against crime. It has been suggested, however, that:

> "In neighbourhoods with severe crime problems, a good deal of external assistance from the police and other agencies is probably necessary before the potential for neighbourhood self-help can be mobilized." (Lavrakas, p. 22)

For the current evaluation, these findings suggest that:

- a significant amount of time may have to pass before attitudinal or behavioural changes will surface following the initial provision of information;
- community members' subjective concern about personal victimization will be an important determinant of program success; and
- specific features of a community will likely have a bearing on the success of any community policing program. Programs and strategies should therefore be designed to respond to a specific need in a specific community.

THE DETROIT MINI-STATION

Begun in 1974-75, the Detroit mini-station program is one of the few ongoing mini-station programs in North America, and served as the initial point of reference for the proposal for Metropolitan Toronto's mini-station. As such, its history, objectives and organization provide an important part of the context for the evaluation of the Toronto pilot project.

Objectives

The mini-station concept was initiated by Detroit's Mayor Young, who sought "to get the police officer back on the streets with the people they serve". A more specific consideration was the high incidence of property crimes in the Detroit area, and a belief that citizen involvement in crime prevention programs could reduce the number of these crimes. As well, severe resource constraints had led to considerations of various models that would increase the efficiency of delivering police services in Detroit.

The mini-station program objectives -- to improve crime prevention and detection through increased police involvement in the community -- are addressed through the program's mode of service delivery: that is, the

police officers in the mini-stations perform traditional police services, but deliver them in a unique way.

This mode of delivery is based on the "mini-max" theory, where, through minimum staffing and capital outlay, maximum service is achieved. Officers are involved in both community-related programs on a daily basis and handle any and all problems that occur in their area.

Organization

The Detroit program involves some 50 mini-stations operating under two Mini-Station Administrative Units (East Side and West Side). The two centralized units report directly to the Office of the Chief of Police, and otherwise relate to the command structure in a variety of ways: advising the precinct and bureau command structure, resolving problems and handling administrative functions beyond the resources of individual precincts, providing support services, designating project directors, administering grants, etc.

The mini-stations are an integral part of the individual precinct's command structure, and their operation is the ultimate responsibility of the precinct Commander, who enjoys traditional prerogatives in administering them. As stated, certain staff and administrative functions which are beyond precinct resources, or are more economically performed by a central unit, are handled by the Mini-Station Administrative Unit.

The precinct Commander is responsible for selecting the sites of mini-stations, which he does according to specified selection criteria. These have primarily to do with community population and crime characteristics, but a further crucial consideration is that there be expressed citizen support for the mini-station in the area and that this support can be maintained.

Each precinct also designates one sergeant from the Special Operations Section to act as a mini-station coordinator, and to be responsible for a number of liaison, information and training activities. A designated patrol supervisor assumes responsibility for supervision of a specific mini-station in his/her sector or area, and, among other activities, evaluates and rates mini-station officers' performance. Mini-station officers initially selected must have a productive record, a desire for community service, and personal characteristics such as innovativeness and drive. Their preparatory training for mini-station services includes instruction in various kinds of interpersonal and management techniques.

Citizen volunteers, and on occasion Detroit police reservists, augment officer staff in the mini-station, and their use is one part of the program's effort to enhance relations between the public and police. Volunteers, all residents of the area concerned, must meet a number of eligibility criteria before being accepted, including health and literacy criteria. They work a specified number of hours weekly (during times of highest public use of the station); their service to the public must be either in person or by phone, and is otherwise restricted to matters that do not require their appearance in court, physically hazardous actions, etc.

Success

A number of conclusions about the operation of the Detroit mini-station project were outlined in a 1975 interim evaluation report, prepared by members of the College of Urban Development, University of Michigan. The evaluation considered two aspects of the project:

- the impact of the mini-station program on crime as reflected by multiple indices such as reported crime and victimization data; and
- those aspects of mini-station operation that seemed to be particularly crucial in terms of making contact with the public and/or having an impact on crime.

It should be noted that the evaluators stressed the conservative and tentative nature of their preliminary recommendations and conclusions. "Because of the highly political and controversial nature of the mini-station program," they explained, "it would be unwise for us to make highly speculative statements about the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the program".

The evaluation made a number of specific recommendations with respect to the scheduling of staff, the need for greater administrative support, the planning, training and conceptual development of the program, the relation between physical location and mini-station activity, and the community involvement of mini-station officers. In supplementary statements, it concluded that:

> There is evidence to indicate that considered overall, the mini-station program is, at this point, at least a partial success. There is some evidence to indicate that the mini-station tends to produce a greater reporting of Type I[1] crimes, although this needs to be clarified by subsequent data analysis. There is also a non-significant trend that the mini-station program produces an actual reduction in Type II[2] crime and auto theft...
>
> In summary, we think the Detroit Police Department and the City of Detroit have reason to be optimistic about their mini-station program. While the data are not overwhelming by any degree, and need further elaboration, there is no reason not to expand the program in the near future.

Staff from Toronto City government and from the Metro Toronto Police Force who visited Detroit to review its policing programs were generally impressed with the mini-station program. They observed that there was a remarkable degree of citizen involvement and an impressive amount of community-related

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1. Type 1 crimes include offenses such as homicide, robbery, rape, burglary, aggravated assault and theft.

2. Type 2 crimes include offenses such as simple assault, arson, forgery, fraud, vandalism, prostitution, narcotic drug laws, liquor laws, etc.

activity associated with the mini-station, and concluded that the program provided a focal point for both crime prevention programs and community relation activities. Also mentioned were their interviews with volunteers, whose comments on their participation in the mini-station program were very positive.

THE METROPOLITAN TORONTO POLICE MANAGEMENT PLAN

The Metro Toronto Police Force is currently going through a process of major change in its operations. These changes, which involve redefinition of officers' roles and reorganization of the force, are being implemented as a result of the 1981-82 Hickling-Johnston study. They form an important part of the context within which the mini-station must be viewed.

The Hickling-Johnston study identified three critical factors requiring reappraisal of the Force's activities:

- the economic instability experienced by both the public and private sectors. This has led to the need for more efficient and cost-effective delivery of police services and requires increased accountability by the police for expenditures;
- changes in the make-up of Metropolitan Toronto: that is, the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of the City; and
- the capacities of police service in relation to increasing demands for service, i.e., the awareness that Metro's Force was reaching a threshold point with respect to answering requests for service.

For our consideration of the Toronto mini-station project, the most important recommendations of the Hickling-Johnston Reports were:

- institution of zone policing. As defined broadly in the report, "Zone policing is a form of team policing ... which refers to a group of officers working as a team to achieve specific objectives." The zone policing concept subdivides each division into a number of geographical zones in which officers are assigned to specific areas

for at least a twelve-month period. It was suggested that policing objectives would become apparent for each zone and, as a team, zone personnel would collectively target their efforts to address these problems.

Specifically, the team of officers, committed to working in the zone for a reasonable period of time, has the objectives of:

- getting to know the community, in terms of its make-up, social problems, etc.;
- developing a sense of responsibility for effective policing of that community; and
- developing specific goals and strategies for policing the community.

The zone policing approach involves more decentralized planning and decision-making such that police are able to identify and respond to local community needs. Officers are likely to develop a degree of commitment to their zone, since recurring problems will have to be continually dealt with by the same personnel, unless properly resolved. Further, maintaining an effective zone operation should be the motivation behind each team member.

- In the context of zone policing, the development of the generalist police officer is considered one of the key elements in the reorganization process. The generalist officer's role is to be more proactive, and to involve more time spent on a wider range of police work: for example, crime prevention, community relations and investigation. Expansion of his/her responsibilities and opportunities is made possible by the institution of a Resource Centre for receiving incoming calls; the officer is thus able to spend less time responding to routine calls.

These recommendations are, at the time of writing, being implemented through the Metropolitan Toronto Police Management Plan, with the expectation of significant consequences for the Force in general, the community and the individual police officer. Greater efficiency and effectiveness is expected to result from:

- a more balanced uniform police service;

- increased technical and civilian support systems; and
- improved channels for information and communication, both internal and external.

It is anticipated that the police officer will benefit in a number of ways, including:

- more opportunity for direct input into the system;
- a greater degree of freedom from calls for service of a minor nature;
- more direct leadership from supervision; and
- an improved team-work approach to policing.

Also signficant is the greater accountability on the part of the police officer and the Force with respect to policing actions. An important consequence of this and other impacts (e.g., improved information systems) will be development of a more accurate basis for evaluation of police activities.

CHAPTER 2 - ORIGINS AND MANDATE OF THE TORONTO MINI-STATION

ORIGINS

Institution of the Toronto mini-station pilot project was the result of several factors: general concerns about police-community relations, the perceived success of targeted attempts to address law enforcement problems through community involvement,[1] and the review of community policing programs in Detroit.

Of particular concern with respect to the problems of community relations in Toronto have been the highly publicized concerns about the relationship between visible minorities and the police. Over the last five years, both Toronto and North York have struck committees to investigate this and other aspects of race relations.[2]

As a result of these concerns, a group from Toronto went to Detroit to review that city's police programs. The contingent was comprised of representatives from the City of Toronto, Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations; the Committee on Community, Race and Ethnic Relations, North York; the Metropolitan Toronto Multicultural Relations Office; the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force; and the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association.

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1. It should be noted that there have been other community-based programs of limited scope intended to enhance both police-community relations and crime prevention in Toronto. These have included a "Teens on Patrol" program and the institution of Community Service Officers and the Ethnic Relations Unit in the Toronto Police Force. In May, 1982 Toronto began the Neighbourhood Watch program in this city. In the summer of 1983 there was a Summer Police Youth Employment Program in which disadvantaged youth distributed "Vial of Life" services to senior citizens.

2. The North York committee initiated an Outreach Pilot Project in the summer using "street-workers" in four neighbourhoods of North York to determine community perceptions and concerns about a number of issues, including policing. One of the recommendations of the project was the establishment of a satellite police station possibly located in a school. This recommendation was not implemented.

The group was interested in the full range of Detroit police programs in terms of their relevance to policing in Metropolitan Toronto and made a number of recommendations to the Chief of Police. Particularly impressed by the Detroit mini-station program, they set out a detailed account of its operation in "Innovative Programs for Policing: Visit to Detroit, Michigan, May 1982"*, and expressed their appreciation of its success and recommended implementation of a similarly organized pilot project in Toronto.

The recommendations put forth in this report (September 1982) were set out as follows:

- that the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force establish a mini-station pilot project; and further, that this pilot project be implemented in five locations in different types of facilities (such as schools, community centres, senior citizens' apartments, plazas, storefronts, churches), in communities with distinctly different neighbourhood characteristics;

- that the Metropolitan Community Services Department assist the Police Force in the identification and selection of the locations; and further, that the Department specifically assist with co-locating these mini-stations with other community services, governmental and voluntary;

- that the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force include in the mini-station pilot project, a citizens' volunteer component;

- that the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force assess the viability of using Auxilliary Police Officers in the operation of mini-stations; and

- that the mini-station pilot project include an evaluation mechanism to be developed jointly by the Police Force and the Metropolitan Department of Community Services.

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* This report (September 1982) was prepared by staff of the Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations and the Coordinator, Multicultural Relations.

A number of these recommendations were not incorporated into the final pilot project proposal: in particular, one site, rather than five, was chosen because of cost factors and concern over disruption during implementation of zone policing.

In the fall of 1982, the Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police and the Community Services and Housing Committee considered a report submitted by the Coordinator, Multicultural Relations on the Detroit Report recommendations. A Joint Committee of the two bodies was struck to develop a proposal to implement a Mini-Station Pilot Project and an expanded Teens on Patrol Program. On February 1, 1983, the Joint Committee instructed the Staff Working Group to develop a proposal for a prototype mini-station, including a proposed operating budget, operational and administrative procedures, and a time-frame for implementation, and this group then met regularly over a period of several months.

Once the decision about location was made, the Community Planning Officer from 5 District and the Crime Prevention and Community Relations Officers from 54 and 55 Divisions were involved in the planning task force.

CONCEPT/RATIONALE

In the minds of those responsible for setting up the mini-station, the general emphasis was on improving community relations and increasing the effectiveness of crime prevention. Specific concerns/priorities relating to this purpose included:

- development of more effective crime prevention programs. In this context, the mini-station was not to be primarily a vehicle for crime detection, but a vehicle for implementing crime prevention programs and for increasing the community's awareness and utilization of those programs;

- development of a sense of ownership of the police function by the community. The idea of co-location, for example, was that community-based groups should feel

comfortable sharing offices with police, that police knowledge of referral possibilities would increase and that duplication of services could gradually be eliminated. Further, there was the hope that the mini-station would "deinstitutionalize" the police in the mind of the public;

- rationalization of a working relationship between the mini-station and zone policing concepts. The context for this was a concern on the part of some about a possible conflict in the goals of the Hickling-Johnston Reports: that is, between the call for increased efficiency and for increased community involvement by the police;

- a change in the police officer's idea about what constitutes the police function. Again, involved here is the emphasis on crime prevention rather than enforcement and detection, and the complementary relationship implied by "transforming the role of the citizen and transforming the role of the police officer"; and

- improved relations between visible minorities and police, in terms of "thawing out" that relationship.

The planning group for the mini-station recognized that a community relations orientation and proactive approach to policing required a particular type of officer. Accordingly, criteria were established for selection purposes and consisted of elements of attitude, experience and skills:

- an interest in and desire for community involvement;
- the ability to function with only limited supervision;
- flexibility and a willingness/ability to be innovative;
- good communication skills and empathy; and
- a knowledge of crime prevention and community programs.

Finally, the co-location between Community Services programs and the Police was considered an important element in the mini-station concept. It was

hoped that there would be advantages for both sides, serving as a mutually beneficial learning experience and helping to de-institutionalize the image of the police in the minds of citizens in the community.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The terms of reference for the pilot project, based on the Staff Working Group's meetings, were set out in the April 21, 1983 memorandum, from the Commissioner of Community Services to the Community Services and Housing Committee.

In this document, the concept of the mini-station was seen as providing an opportunity for "citizens to become involved with the Police Force in policing the community" and for creating "close interaction between uniformed police officers and the community they serve". The mini-station was also seen as "an obvious focal point from which organizing of crime prevention programs can be undertaken".

The mini-station was to be located in an available storefront location at 1484 Danforth Avenue, and the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the location were explored. It was felt that both the space and the location were appropriate, given its physical characteristics and the characteristics of the community.

The mini-station's overall goal was "to build an enhanced understanding of a police/community partnership". Further definition of this goal was provided in the form of six objectives:

- to provide an experimental model for a community-oriented police facility which increases positive community involvement with police;
- to provide an opportunity for increased citizen participation in crime prevention programs;
- to provide access for residents to the full range of policing services;

- to provide an opportunity for police to increase their understanding of neighbourhood requirements;
- to provide a co-location opportunity with other community services; and
- to maintain efficient deployment of police resources.

The mini-station commenced operation only one month after the terms of reference for the pilot project were set out by the Staff Working Group.

It is important to note that, from the outset, a number of different parties, and so perspectives, were involved in the establishment of the mini-station and concerned with its success. These include:

- the Metropolitan Toronto Multicultural Relations Office and the City of Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community & Race Relations, members of which were part of the Toronto contingent that visited Detroit and served on the Staff Working Group that designed the pilot project;
- the Metropolitan Toronto Department of Community Services, Community Services Development Unit;
- senior officers of the Metro Toronto Police Force and Headquarter's staff from Community Programs and Planning & Research; and
- staff of 5 District Community Planning and Community Services Officers from Divisions 54 and 55.

It is also important to note that the objectives and guidelines agreed to for the mini-station provided a very general framework for its development. How these objectives and guidelines were to be implemented was not spelled out in any detail. The process which has led to the present structure and set of activities has been an evolutionary one, in response to the needs and characteristics of the *community*, *decisions* regarding staffing, and the ideas and commitment of a number of those involved with the operation of the station.

Evaluation

The proposal recommended a two-year timeframe for the pilot project in order to allow sufficient time for proper evaluation. In this regard, it was recognized that a period of adjustment for both police personnel and the community would be necessary and that time would be required for testing methods of engaging community participation. It was also noted that "... other organizational changes currently underway in the Police Force ... will certainly result in additional pressures which can more readily be handled over a longer period of time".

An Evaluation Sub-Committee was struck to define the parameters of an evaluation of the mini-station program process and outcome. The basic questions to be asked through this evaluation process as stated in the April 1983 memorandum were:

- is the service provided through the mini-station worthwhile?
- is the service cost-effective?
- is there a reduction of crime?
- is community interest in crime prevention programs increased?
- are there positive improvements in police/community relations?
- does the co-location opportunity provide any benefits to the Department of Community Services?

Specific terms of reference for the evaluation were subsequently developed and an ongoing Evaluation Committee was struck to meet on a regular basis to oversee its implementation.

With respect to impact of the mini-station, the terms of reference for the evaluation specified a focus on six objectives set forth for the mini-station, including:

- to increase community understanding of the role and programs of the police;
- to increase citizen participation in crime prevention programs;
- to provide easier access by residents to the full range of police services;
- to increase police understanding of neighbourhood needs;
- to provide a successful co-location opportunity with other community services;
- to maintain efficient deployment of police resources.

In addition to examining the impact of the mini-station, the evaluation was expected to address process issues which emerged during the start-up and implementation of the pilot project. It was recognized that the process issues would have a bearing on the impact of the pilot project and would, more importantly, inform any future efforts at implementing similar strategies.

The format of the remainder of this report is as follows:

- a description of the programs and activities undertaken by police at the mini-station, including level and type of requests for service from the community and proactive efforts by police to identify and respond to community needs;
- an assessment of the community impact of the mini-station;
- a description and assessment of the implementation process in terms of organizational and operational considerations; and
- conclusions and recommendations based on the assessments of community impact and process issues.

CHAPTER 3 - POLICE PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES AT THE MINI-STATION

Levels of staffing at the mini-station have impacted very directly on programs and activities undertaken by the officers. During the early months of its operation, with frequently only one officer on duty at any given time, activities were primarily reactive -- the officer responded to telephone calls and dealt with visitors to the station. During brief periods of shift overlap, one of the officers would go out in the community, making contact with local businesses, stores and community organizations. An intensive outreach program was, however, not possible until staffing levels increased.

NATURE OF SERVICES PROVIDED

With six assigned officers and the regular use of auxiliaries, the mini-station now has greater flexibility in terms of the number and type of programs and activities that can be undertaken. The current staff complement permits regular foot patrols, with the officers making frequent street contacts and informal visits to local stores and businesses.

In addition to foot patrol, the mini-station has engaged in a number of other programs and activities, including:

- formal crime prevention and safety information sessions with classes of students from local schools (held at the mini-station);
- a systematic door-to-door campaign to encourage residents to participate in Neighbourhood Watch and Operation Identification. This involves not only distribution of materials, but actual contact and discussion with individual residents;
- a bicycle registration and bicycle safety program;
- assistance to the Pawn Shop patrol through contact with local pawn shops;

- regular Saturday afternoon movies for local children (and their parents). The numbers of children attending the mini-station for the Saturday matinees is now typically 50 or 60 each week. These matinees include both entertainment films and safety films;

- crime prevention and safety presentation to community groups, such as senior citizens, day care centres, recreation centres, cub and scout groups, etc.;

- contact with and participation in local community organizations such as business associations, churches, and community centres; and

- distribution and explanation of the Robbery Prevention Kit and Operation Provident materials to local businesses.

Furthermore, the mini-station still receives a large number of visitors who come in for specific crime prevention information (e.g., lock display) and law enforcement assistance, as well as more general crime prevention and policing information. A number of visitors also come in for general information on services that are not specifically police related. In these situations, the officers frequently act in a referral capacity.

The mini-station has a number of videos and displays which attract considerable interest. There is a wide variety of pamphlets available at the station, not only on crime prevention but also on other community and social services. (Many of these are at the station at the request of other organizations.) The officers have recently developed a safety presentation, using puppets, for pre-schoolers that appears to be particularly effective.

Since the opening of the mini-station on May 31, 1983, up to July 31, 1984, there have been over 13,000 visits made to the station. This includes a large number of school children and pre-school children who have attended presentations put on by the officers at the station. The officers have made approximately 100 crime prevention presentations in the station itself and at clubs and organizations.

In addition to these community relations and crime prevention activities, the officers do respond to the need for other types of police service. Local community members have come to the station with theft reports, loss reports, information on suspicious persons or events, etc. On a number of occasions the officers have been called to the scene of a crime in the immediate vicinity of the mini-station. This occurrence is rare, however, in that the officers do not have a base radio by which they can monitor calls for service from the immediate community.

COMMUNITY RESPONSE

The presentations to school classes and community groups have received an enthusiastic response from the community. In particular, community members see significant value in bringing children into contact with the police in the context of their safety and positive crime prevention programs. Similarly, the Saturday afternoon matinee for children is seen as a valuable informal way of building rapport between young people and the police.

Generally, there was a very positive response from community organizations interviewed, particularly with regard to crime prevention and safety presentations. These organizations included senior citizen clubs, and business, ethnic and youth organizations. In general, the organizations working with youth were most likely to see a specific need for a police service of this kind so that children would get to know the police better and learn specific crime prevention and safety skills. One of the business organizations had used the crime prevention information provided from the mini-station to disseminate information to its members.

NUMBERS OF CONTACTS/REQUESTS FOR SERVICE

Data on the activities in the mini-station were collected from daily logs completed by the officers between October 1983, and July 31, 1984. For this ten-month period information was recorded on the information/assistance

requested and received by visitors. An estimate was made of the number of individual community members who have visited the mini-station requesting information or assistance. This estimate excludes the following:

- groups of school children, community organizations, etc., that attended presentations at the mini-station (approximately 3,000);
- visits by police personnel (approximately 500);
- visits by children for Halloween (1983: approximately 300); and
- attendance at the opening and anniversary of the station (approximately 1,200).

Excluding these groups, we estimate that there have been approximately 8,000 visits* to the mini-station during its first year of operation, in which the following requests for service were involved:

1. **specific crime prevention information:** home security advice including locks, Operation Identification, Neighbourhood Watch, Operation Provident, bicycle registration, streetproofing, child safety, and Block Parent - 26%;
2. **community relations:** general information on mini-station, viewing station, picking up pamphlets, information on recruitment or entry to force - 20%;
3. **traffic-related law enforcement:** driving/parking complaints or inquiries; information regarding parking tickets; report or information on traffic accident (auto damage, personal injury) - 12%;

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* On the basis of the resident and user surveys it is estimated that this represents approximatly 4,000 different individuals.

4. **law enforcement, investigation (non-traffic):** citizen report of a crime, complaint or dispute; loss or theft, etc. - 11%;

5. **48-hour reports:** - 2%;

6. **criminal information received:** citizen report of suspicious person or event, citizen report of information regarding an investigation - 2%;

7. **law enforcement-related information and advice:** advice or information regarding a charge, subpoena, summons, etc. - 7%; and

8. **general information or assistance (non law enforcement or crime related):** information on general safety matters (e.g., crossing guards), licenses, directions, senior citizens matters (e.g., Vial of Life program), etc. - 20%.

In attempting to group these activities together, requests for service from the mini-station appear to break down into a number of general categories:

- specific crime prevention - 26%;
- general community relations - 20%;
- investigation/law enforcement related - 34%; and
- general information and assistance (other) - 20%.

The latter category (general information and assistance) may overlap to a large degree with other community relations activities. It is broken out separately as it suggests that the community uses the mini-station to some extent as a general information or referral service, as well as a police service.

The figures above represent requests for service from individuals. In terms of the time spent by the officers on various activities, including those which they initiate on their own, it is clear that crime prevention represents an even higher proportion. Similarly, when one takes into

takes into consideration the number of people reached through crime prevention presentations put on by the officers, we estimate that approximately one-half of the citizen contacts made by the mini-station officers relate to delivery of specific crime prevention information and assistance.

Changes have occured over time in requests for information/assistance by the public from mini-station officers. Overall, activity in the mini-station has steadily increased in terms of both visits from individuals and requests for presentations. Trends show that the demand for home security advice peaks in the fall, whereas information on child safety and bicycle registration peaks in the spring and summer months. Steady increases have occurred in reports to the mini-station from the public about loss or theft, and complaints arising from situations other than traffic or parking disputes have also increased. It seems that the community is becoming increasingly aware of the law enforcement role of the mini-station, as well as its crime prevention and community relations responsibilities.

FOOT PATROL CONTACTS

Daily contact sheets regarding foot patrol were completed by the mini-station officers from February 11, 1984, to July 31, 1984. The data indicate that officers, taken as a group, spend an average of 158 hours per month patrolling by foot (in addition, auxiliaries working out of the mini-station spend an average of 19 hours per month on foot patrol). During foot patrol activities, officers, taken as a group, make an average of 337 contacts with citizens per month, and do an average of 103 bank checks per month.

In conjunction with the crime prevention officer in 54 Division, the mini-station has been actively involved in delivering crime prevention materials to homes in the area bordered by O'Connor to the north, Woodbine

to the east, Cosburn to the south, and Greenwood to the west. To date, officers or auxiliaries from the mini-station have delivered over 2,000 crime prevention envelopes to households in this area. It must be noted that a significant proportion of these deliveries was made after the completion of the residential survey. (In the residential survey it was found that 33% of the residents in this area indicated that crime prevention materials had been delivered to their home.)

In addition to their work in the mini-station and on foot patrol, mini-station officers have been involved in criminal investigations. Twenty-six such investigations were recorded between October 1983, and July 1984 (a ten-month period). These incidents included property damage, automobile accidents, theft occurrences, disorderlies, and break and enter. These incidents represent investigations in which the mini-station officers left the mini-station and attended at the scene to investigate complaints.

OTHER POLICE USES OF FACILITY

The mini-station is used for meetings related to Neighbourhood Watch programs in the area. The Crime Prevention Officer frequently arranges for Block Captains to attend at the mini-station during the early implementation stages of the program. Similarly, the mini-station has been used by other police personnel for special meetings or training sessions around specific topics, such as changes related to Young Offenders Legislation. These meetings, frequently held in the evening, represent a useful means of exposing other zone officers to the resources and services of the mini-station.

COMPARISON WITH ZONE OFFICERS

To establish whether the activities and public contacts of the mini-station officers differed significantly from those of their colleagues, data were collected on the activities of six zone officers during their routine shifts

over a five-day period. Each zone officer made individual contact* with an average of six to seven citizens per day. (A total of 194 citizen contacts were made by the six zone officers during the five-day period).

The nature of citizen contact was examined using the following categories:

- contact related to **traffic enforcement** activity (e.g., issuing tickets, speaking to parking zone violators, etc.);
- contact related to **other enforcement or investigative** duty (i.e., mediating a dispute, gathering evidence, making an arrest, etc.); and
- contact made which is **non-enforcement** related (i.e., community relations, crime prevention, giving directions, etc.).

The chart below shows that, as expected, a significantly greater proportion of the citizen contact made by the mini-station officers was 'non-enforcement' related while that of other zone officers involved primarily enforcement related activities.

Table 1

Nature of individual citizen contact

	Zone Officers	Mini-Station Officers**
Traffic enforcement	23%	12%
Other enforcement	49%	22%
Non-enforcement	28%	66%

* "Contact" refers to interaction established on a "per case" or "per event" basis. An officer speaking with a family of four would thus constitute a single contact rather than four contacts. This was done to permit comparison with the data from the mini-station.

** Detailed breakdown is presented on page 9.

The above figures for mini-station officers are based on individual contacts made through requests for service at the mini-station. When contacts made through crime prevention and safety presentations initiated by the officers themselves are added to these figures, an even greater difference in the nature of citizen contacts is evident.

Mini-Station Officers
(% of contacts including presentations)

Traffic enforcement	9%
Other enforcement	16%
Non-enforcement	75%

The mini-station officers have considerably greater contact with a broader range of community members and organizations than do other zone officers. This can be expected given their substantially different roles and activities. In addition, the mini-station has been successful in developing an active outreach progam in the community, particularly with respect to school children and community groups and organizations. This outreach is a result of proactive initiatives on the part of the officers as well as community-initiated requests.

Because of their broad range of community contacts the officers become aware of and are able to respond to service needs and community concerns. These have included responding to specific needs with local community organizations, seniors in the community, businesses and business organizations, etc. We identified only two situations in which community concerns were identified, but the mini-station was unable to provide the requested service.

Like their colleagues in the zones, the mini-station officers are aware of problem areas in the community in terms of criminal activity. In addition, however, their role ensures that they become more familiar with local organizations and more general community concerns.

CHAPTER 4 - COMMUNITY IMPACT OF THE MINI-STATION

This chapter describes and assesses the impact of the mini-station on the community in which it is located.* In general, the concern was to establish the nature of impacts at the level of perception and attitude, and at the level of behaviour. Specifically, the areas covered are the community's:

- use and perceptions of the mini-station;
- awareness and knowledge of crime prevention programs;
- involvement in crime prevention;
- attitudes toward the police; and
- amount of crime and perceptions of safety.

Our discussion here is based on a number of surveys of community members, described in the following section. The conclusions we reach in terms of each of the areas listed above are based on the results of these surveys in combination with wider-population data and literature on community policing.

The data presented in the rest of this chapter indicates that there has been some impact in the expected direction with respect to:

- opportunity for more contact with police in a more positive and a friendlier environment;
- a reinforcement and strengthening of positive attitudes toward local police in the neighbourhood;
- increased awareness of crime prevention programs, services and resources of police. This increased knowledge of crime prevention programs has, however, only been translated to a very limited extent to increased involvement in these programs;

- a reduction of crime in a very localized area around the mini-station and on the stretch of the Danforth where foot patrol is focussed.

SURVEYS OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS

A number of surveys were carried out to address the extent to which the mini-station has met its objectives. Thus, interviews were conducted with: 559 residents; 113 business people; 98 school children; 6 community organizations; and 56 visitors to the mini-station.

There was no available baseline data on community attitudes and behaviour prior to the establishment of the mini-station. It was recognized at the outset that this presented limitations in trying to assess impact. Thus, data related to changes due to the mini-station must be considered tentative. Information was gathered, however, such that comparisons could be made between residents and business people located within the mandated mini-station area and those outside it. It seemed a reasonable hypothesis that, if the mini-station were effective, community residents and business people located close to the mini-station should show different attitudes and behaviours than those located farther away. Surveys were conducted based on concentric zones moving from the immediate vicinity of the mini-station to areas lying outside the mandated area of the mini-station. Of course, the extent to which differences exist between areas may still reflect pre-existing conditions for which no baseline data were available.

The yellow and blue areas on the map on the following page show the geographical area in which resident and business surveys were conducted.

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* A description of the community is located is provided in Appendix 1.

Throughout the description of the survey results, findings are described in the following ways:

- mandated mini-station area - this is the area which the mini-station was mandated to cover. This area is marked in yellow on the community survey map (bounded by O'Connor on the North, the C.N.R. tracks on the South, Greenwood on the West and Woodbine on the East);
- the immediate vicinity of the mini-station - the square outlined in red around the mini-station on the community survey map (approximately a five-block area);
- outside the mini-station area - that area marked in blue on the community survey map;
- community surveyed - all of the area (both yellow and blue) in which surveys were conducted - both within and outside the mandated mini-station area.

COMMUNITY USE AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE MINI-STATION

The evaluation, and in particular the surveys, explored the extent to which the mini-station was used by residents, businesses and community organizations in the area, as well as the ways in which it was being used.

Numbers Who Used/Were Familiar with the Mini-Station

In terms of familiarity with and use of the mini-station, approximately 76% of the residents in the mandated area of the mini-station knew about its existence, although only 15% had in fact visited the station. Proximity to the station appears to be important however:

- 21% of those residents who lived in the immediate vicinity of the mini-station (within a five-block area) had in fact made at least one visit;

- those residents outside the mandated mini-station area were less likely to know of its existence (56%) and less likely to have visited it (6%).

Over three-quarters (78%) of the business people in the mandated area of the mini-station knew about its existence, and 28% of them had made a visit. Over one-third (38%) of the businesses in the mini-station area indicated that an officer from the mini-station had come to visit their business. (Only 28% of the business people outside the mini-station area knew about the mini-station, and only 3% had visited the mini-station).

Approximately one-half of those people who had visited the mini-station had found out about it by walking by. Approximately one-quarter had heard about it through the media. The remainder had found out about the mini-station through family, friends, or other sources.

Of those residents who had visited, approximately half (48%) had done so more than once, including 7% who have visited six or more times. Business people who visited were more likely to visit often, with fully 90% of business visitors having visited more than once, and 54% indicating they had visited six or more times.

In establishing the mini-station, two primary target groups were identified - young people (ages 15 - 24) and ethnic groups. It is clear from the results of the Residents' Survey that both these groups use the mini-station in relative proportion to their representation in the community. Approximately one-quarter of the residents who visited the mini-station (26%) were people in whose homes a language other than English was spoken. (This compares to 25% of the residents who had not visited the mini-station.) Similarly, 19% of the users were between the ages of 15 and 24, compared to 18% of those who had not visited the mini-station. There was no evidence of any significant differences between groups on the basis of age or mother tongue.

Reasons for Visit

Residents visited the mini-station for a variety of reasons and received a range of information and assistance. This included: crime prevention and home security information; other general safety and street-proofing information; reporting crimes or complaints; and receiving information or assistance on ticket/traffic related matters. While many people visited the first time simply to find out what was in the station, most indicated that they received some specific information or assistance as a result of their visit. Typically this involved crime prevention, home security or safety information.

Of particular interest in terms of the impact of the mini-station on police resources in the affected zones is the fact that approximately one-third of those users surveyed indicated that they would have gone to another police station if the mini-station had not been there. An additional 5% indicated that they would have called the police with regard to some specific matter had they not gone to the mini-station. Thus, the mini-station is meeting some of the law enforcement needs of community members which would otherwise be met by Division stations.

Perceptions of the Mini-Station

Part of the discussion surrounding the development of the mini-station related to the need for a police facility to reflect a positive image that encouraged use of and positive attitudes toward police resources. Results from both the Business and Residents' Survey clearly showed that the mini-station elicited a more positive response than other police stations. Users of the mini-station, as identified through the Residents' Survey, were asked to describe a "typical police station" (specifically not the mini-station) according to specific items and later in the interview to describe the mini-station according to the same items. (It is important to

note that people who had never visited a police station in Toronto typically refused to respond to this question; therefore, responses largely reflect actual reactions to Toronto police stations.)

TABLE 2

Comparison of Residents' Descriptions of the Mini-Station and Other Toronto Police Stations

Description of Station	Regular Station	Mini-Station
Quiet	51%	81%
Friendly	65%	92%
Warm	42%	86%
Clean	88%	97%
Not Crowded	57%	68%
Bright	75%	91%
Pleasant	51%	86%
Easy to Find	81%	88%

Virtually all users of the mini-station indicated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with the information or assistance they received. All users saw the mini-station as a good idea for their neighbourhood. Similarly, virtually all indicated they would use it again if the need arose for crime prevention information, for reporting an offence or complaint, or if they had problems or were in trouble.

AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE OF CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Results suggest that the mini-station has increased the community's awareness of police services and, specifically, crime prevention programs. Exposure to the police over the past year has been much greater for those people in the immediate vicinity (five-block area) of the

mini-station.

- Almost half (46%) of those residents living in the immediate vicinity have had face-to-face contact with police over the past year (compared to between 16% and 37% in other areas).

- Half of the people in the immediate vicinity see police walking the beat often or very often, compared with between 5% and 27% in other areas surveyed.

Most residents (85%) felt that it was a good idea for police to walk around the neighbourhood. Reasons for this were given as: increased public security, increased access to police, and improved police-public interaction. Those who did not think it was a good idea noted drawbacks related to response time and cost-effectiveness.

Business people in the mini-station area were also more likely to have had exposure to police in the past year.

- 83% of the business people in the mandated mini-station area had seen police walking the beat often or very often in their neighbourhood, compared to 63% of those businesses outside the mini-station area.

- Three-quarters (73%) of those in the mini-station area had talked to police (compared to 58% of those outside the area).

Proximity to the mini-station also appears to be important in terms of exposure to crime prevention information.

- Over half of the residents in the immediate vicinity of the mini-station (53% within a five-block area) had heard about crime prevention sessions that were offered in the past year. This compares with approximately one-third or less in other areas.

- Those people in the mandated area of the mini-station were more likely than those outside the mini-station area to have had crime prevention materials delivered to their home (34% of those in the area versus 21% of those

not in the area) and to have had a police officer or auxiliary come to the house to discuss crime prevention (15% of those in the area versus 7% of those not in the area).

- There was some difference in awareness of the Operation Identification program between those residents in the mandated mini-station area (43% were aware of the program) and those outside the area (31%).

- Within the mini-station area, businesses were more likely to have heard about the Robbery Prevention Kit (24%) than were those outside the mini-station area (13%).

Most residents surveyed were aware of Neighbourhood Watch (81%) and Block Parent (78%) programs. No differences emerged between those in the mini-station area and those outside with respect to awareness of these programs.* Most people indicated they had heard about Neighbourhood Watch through the media (32%) or friends/relatives (27%).

The school children who had visited the mini-station were somewhat more likely than other children who had not visited the station to identify specific aspects of crime prevention which are taught at the mini-station -- particularly with respect to their homes, their bicycles and themselves.

- When asked what people could do to keep their homes safe, 44% of the children who had visited the mini-station indicated that people should close or lock their house windows (compared to 27% of the children who had never visited the mini-station).

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* It is noted, however, that significantly more residents in this area of the city reported knowledge of Neighbourhood Watch than was the case in the 1982 Canadian Urban Victimization Survey conducted in Toronto which found that 27% of residents in Toronto as a whole were aware of the program. (Thirty-one percent of residents throughout Toronto were aware of Operation Identification and 72% of Block Parent.)

- 21% of the children who had visited the mini-station mentioned bicycle registration as a crime prevention measure (compared to 11% of those who had not visited the mini-station).

- 51% of the children who had visited the mini-station said that they should go with someone else when they are going out to make sure they are safe (compared with 29% of those children who had not visited the mini-station).

- 62% of the children who had visited the mini-station knew about the Block Parent program. This compared to only 35% of those children who had not visited the mini-station. With respect to this issue, 23% of those children who had visited the mini-station indicated that they had heard about the Block Parent program from police. Only 7% of those children who had not visited the mini-station had heard about the Block Parent program from police.

INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME PREVENTION

While the public generally expresses a belief in community involvement in crime prevention, and most take basic precautions such as keeping doors locked, only a relatively small number participate in more elaborate programs or activities designed to increase security. This occurs despite the fact that there is a fairly high level of awareness of crime prevention programs.

Our survey of residents showed that while virtually all the residents (94%) felt that the public should take more responsibility for crime control in their neighbourhoods and most had heard about Neighbourhood Watch (81%), only 11% were actually involved in it.* Similarly, only 28% had done something new in the past year to protect themselves or their property against crime.

Table 3 shows the percentage of residents involved in various crime prevention activities - broken down on the basis of whether they had visited

the mini-station (users) or not (non-users), and whether they resided within or outside the mandated mini-station area.

The data shows that residents who have visited the mini-station are somewhat more likely to be involved in crime prevention activities than those who have not. In particular, users of the mini-station are more likely to have attended a crime prevention session in the past year, done something new in the past year to protect themselves or their property against crime, and to have marked their property through the Operation Identification program.

These findings must be seen in light of the literature regarding general crime prevention behaviour which suggests that motivation for involvement is important. Thus, while it is possible that the mini-station provided an impetus for crime prevention actions for some people, it is more likely that people who were concerned about and motivated to engage in crime prevention used the mini-station as a resource for specific information or service.

TABLE 3

3.1 Attended Crime Prevention Session in Past Year (Residents' Survey)

Attended?	Users	Non-Users	Mini-Station Area	Outside Area
YES	23%	7%	12%	7%
NO	77%	93%	88%	93%

* This, despite the fact that 30% of residents indicated that the most important thing that can be done to prevent crime is Neighbourhood Watch.

3.2 Involvement in Operation Identification (Residents' Survey)

Involved?	Users	Non-Users	Mini-Station Area	Outside Area
YES	18%	6%	9%	7%
NO	82%	94%	91%	93%

3.3 Involvement in Neighbourhood Watch (Residents' Survey)

Involved?	Users	Non-Users	Mini-Station Area	Outside Area
YES	14%	8%	14%	6%
NO	86%	92%	86%	94%

3.4 Do Anything New in Past Year to Prevent Crime (Residents' Survey)

Acted?	Users	Non-Users	Mini-Station Area	Outside Area
YES	34%	17%	30%	25%
NO	66%	83%	70%	75%

In terms of general impact on the community as a whole (i.e., not just those who are concerned or motivated), the findings suggest a marginal trend in the expected direction. The trend suggests that those residing in the mini-station area are becoming more involved in crime prevention - but the percentage of involved residents is still very small and the differences are indeed marginal.

Proximity to the mini-station was clearly an issue in terms of residents' involvement in some programs. While 17% of those people living in the immediate vicinity (five block area) of the mini-station were involved in Operation Identification, there was a relatively consistent decline (down to 5%) as proximity to the mini-station decreased.

There were no differences between the mini-station area and the community outside the mini-station area in terms of whether or not businesses had done something new to protect themselves against crime. With respect to the Robbery Prevention Kit, none of the businesses outside the mini-station area used it and only 6% of the businesses in the mandated mini-station area were using it.

In general terms, the findings suggest that while community response to the mini-station has been extremely positive for those who have used it, there is a problem in terms of motivating citizens to use police resources other than those directly related to law enforcement (i.e., getting people to use police services related to crime prevention). For example, while 34% of residents had heard about crime prevention sessions, only 10% had attended. Reasons for non-attendance were typically given as "laziness", "inconvenience", and "no real interest or need". It was clear from the qualitative responses during the interviews that convenience and proximity are important issues in terms of service use.

Similarly, level of concern about crime appears to influence involvement. People who had been victims of crime were more likely to attend the mini-station (18%) than were those who had not (10%). This held up even though the same percentage of each group knew about the existence of the mini-station. Similarly, people who had been victims of crime were more likely to have done something new in the last year to prevent crime (43%) than were those who had not been victims of crime (24%).

ATTITUDES TO POLICE

It is clear from the findings that, for users of the mini-station, positive attitudes toward police were reinforced where they already existed, and to some extent the mini-station may have served to develop more positive attitudes where they had not previously existed.

Findings from both the Residents and Business surveys indicate that the people in the community have quite positive attitudes toward police.

TABLE 4

Attitudes Toward Police Survey (Residents)

	Agree (All)	Disagree (All)
Police are respectful to people like yourself.	94%	6%
Police are concerned about people's problems when they come to their home.	85%	15%
Police tend to ignore you and your problems when you call them.	17%	83%
In this neighbourhood the police don't get to know the people or their problems.	59%	41%
Police in this neighbourhood are willing to help with problems other than solving crime.	77%	23%

No significant differences were evident between those living in the mini-station area and those outside it, although some marginal differences were apparent.

- 80% of people in the mini-station area agreed that police in their neighbourhood are willing to help with problems other than crime (compared to 74% outside the area).

- 59% of people living in the immediate vicinity of the mini-station believe that police in their neighbourhood get to know the people and their problems (compared to 42% of all those in the mini-station area and 38% outside the mini-station area).*

Overall, business people within the mandated mini-station area also had positive attitudes toward police in their neighbourhood. Some marginal differences emerged between businesses in the mini-station area and those outside it.

- Over half (53%) of business people within the mini-station area believed that the police get to know the people and their problems in their neighbourhood. (This compares to 39% of those people outside the mini-station area.)

- 81% of the businesses in the mini-station area believe that police in their neighbourhood are willing to help with problems other than solving crime (compared to 71% of those outside the mini-station area).

Users (both residents and business) were asked if their experience at the mini-station had affected the way they thought about police. Approximately one-third (39%) indicated that the mini-station had affected their perspective. In all cases these people indicated that they had developed a more positive attitude toward police, did not feel as apprehensive about approaching police, or learned that the police had useful crime prevention information that they did not know about before. Similarly, approximately one-third of the users indicated that their experience in the police station was different from previous police contacts they had had. They felt that

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* It is interesting to note that some people commented that "getting to know the people and their problems" was not the role or mandate of police.

the mini-station officers were friendlier, more personal and the experience in general more positive.

AMOUNT OF CRIME

There is evidence that in the immediate vicinity of the mini-station criminal activity has been affected. The crime analysts keep track of the amount and type of crime by street. This permitted a more specific examination of impact than did the statistics collected on the basis of patrol area.* It was clear from our discussions with the crime analysts and observations of their data that within a one or two-block area to the north and south of the mini-station -- along the Danforth from Woodbine (on the east) to Greenwood (on the west) -- there have been noticeably fewer criminal occurrences than elsewhere in the area. The data suggest that the presence and visibility of mini-station officers significantly affects the amount of crime in the immediate vicinity. The foot patrol activities of the mini-station officers appear to be a major deterrent to street crime along the stretch of the Danforth between Woodbine and Greenwood.

This finding is reinforced by the observation of the crime analysts that when crime does occur in that area, it occurs during times when the mini-station is closed or when the officers, for whatever reason, are not out on foot patrol.

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* The mandated area of the mini-station overlaps a number of patrol areas, but represents only a portion of each of them. This limited the utility of crime data by patrol area. Data on crime rates in the patrol areas served by the mini-station do not show any general trends in terms of differences compared to other areas.

While these findings are encouraging, it is important to note that the impact on crime is very localized and appears to relate specifically to a visible and frequent police presence; crime that might have occurred in this area may well be displaced to surrounding areas.

Community Perceptions of Safety

Most people in the surveyed area felt that their neighbourhood was safer than other neighbourhoods in Toronto (41%) or about average (52%)*. There was no difference in this regard between the mini-station area and the area outside. Similarly, 98% of the residents indicated that they felt safe walking in their neighbourhood during the day, and 68% felt safe walking at night.**

There was no evidence to suggest that there was any major concern about crime in the area. Comparison with the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey suggests that residents in the community surveyed feel as safe, if not somewhat safer, than others in Toronto or in urban Canada as a whole. Most residents felt that their neighbourhood was as safe (71%) or safer (11%) than it had been a year ago and most (78%) felt that crime in their neighbourhood had not increased in the past year.

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* Only 3% of the sample felt their neighbourhood was less safe than others in Toronto. Data from the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey (1982) indicate that for Toronto as a whole 8% feel that crime in their neighbourhood is high.

** The findings from the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey (1982) indicate that on average 95% of Canadian urban residents feel safe during the day and 60% at night.

While residents who had been victims of crimes in the past few years* were somewhat more likely to think that crime in their neighbourhood had increased (31% of victims versus 20% of non-victims), there was no difference in terms of their feelings of safety.

It is clear from the results of the community surveys that the public expects and wants "traditional policing services", in terms of patrol and enforcement:

- 85% of the residents thought it was a good idea for police to walk around their neighbourhood.
- 72% disagreed with the statement that "The police spend too much time catching criminals and not enough time preventing crime".
- 27% felt that the most important thing that can be done to reduce crime is increased police visibility.

The public clearly believes that increased police visibility and presence contributes to the safety of their neighbourhood. While they are aware of and believe in the need for community involvement in crime prevention, community members on the whole continue to place considerable reliance on traditional policing.

We noted that those people who used the mini-station are somewhat more likely to feel that police should spend time on crime prevention. Again, while this may suggest that the mini-station has an impact on attitude, there is a strong likelihood that people who used the mini-station were already predisposed to this view.

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* Eighteen per cent of the sample indicated that they or a member of their household have been a victim in the past few years.

SUMMARY

It is useful to look at the activity of the mini-station in relation to three general categories:

- traditional policing (i.e., patrolling, enforcing, and investigating);
- crime prevention; and
- community relations.

From the results of the survey it is clear that the public expects and wants the mini-station to provide **traditional policing services** in the form of routine patrols of the area. The public clearly believes that increased police visibility and presence contributes to the safety of the neighbourhood. It is our impression that the interest expressed by other communities in having a mini-station may be based on the same assumption.

Findings with regard to **crime prevention** underscore a basic dilemma. The survey indicated that most respondents (94%) would agree that the public should take more responsibility for crime control programs in their neighbourhood.

There does appear to be increased awareness of crime prevention activities and of the need for specific crime prevention measures as a result of mini-station activities. As in the case of other communities, however, the increased awareness of crime prevention programs has not translated into a similar increase in involvement in these programs.

Despite a high level of awareness, there appears to have been marginal change in the expected direction in terms of residents' behaviour with respect to crime prevention in the mini-station area.

It is clear that for behaviour change to occur, attitudes and perceptions must change. The public must be motivated to engage in crime prevention and have access to convenient ways in which to become involved in programs.

The **community relations** aspect of the mini-station mandate has been implemented primarily through crime prevention programming. In particular, the mini-station's involvement with neighbourhood children, the personal contact with residents and business people, and the exposure of the community to the range of services offered by police have all contributed to the achievement of community relations objectives. The community in which the mini-station is presently located has quite positive attitudes toward the police. The study does suggest, however, that the community was favourably disposed to the police prior to the establishment of the mini-station.

CHAPTER 5 - ORGANIZATION AND OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

An important part of the evaluation mandate was to review the mini-station from an operational standpoint, with two objectives in mind:

- to provide a basis for understanding the kinds of results being obtained;
- to identify issues which should be addressed in considering implementation of the model in other communities.

As this is a pilot project it is particularly important to understand the dynamics of the process. Lessons learned from the present experience can prove useful if this approach to delivering police services is to be more widely used.

In this section of the report we look at the operation of the mini-station on a number of different dimensions, including: its mandate and objectives; its structure and reporting relationships; staffing and budget; and the co-location experience and its impact.

ROLE AND OBJECTIVES

The objectives for the mini-station, as set out in its official terms of reference, were presented in a way which defined a general role for the mini-station, rather than expected outcomes or program activities. While it was understood that the mini-station would be concerned primarily with crime prevention and community relations, no goals or priorities were established for these or other activity areas.

As a result there was initial uncertainty as to what was expected of the mini-station officers, both on the part of the officers themselves and of others involved with the initiative. The statement that the mini-station

should provide access to a full range of police services raised, for example, discussion as to whether this should be a full service police station or should focus solely on community relations and crime prevention. This debate was typified by the issue as to whether mini-station officers should issue parking tickets given the impact this might have on improving community relations.

Study results, in fact, show that the mini-station has engaged in the full range of police activities. Requests for service from the community involved:

- crime prevention (26%);
- investigation/law enforcement (34%);
- community relations (20%); and
- general information and assistance (20%)

Clearly, the mini-station has indeed become a focus for crime prevention and community relations activities within its particular geographic sphere of influence.* At the same time, however, the community itself expects the officers to provide all police services including enforcement, investigation and patrol, and it is clearly the responsibility of the officers to enforce the law. (The issue of parking appears to have been handled with tact with officers giving residents warnings and letting it be known that tickets would have to be issued if violations continued.)

In terms of the original objectives, the focus on community relations and crime prevention did produce positive community relations and a public awareness of crime prevention. It had only a marginal impact, however, in changing residents' behaviour to the point of active involvement in crime prevention.

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* In that the crime prevention and community relations officers have used the facilities of the mini-station, crime prevention activities emanating from the facility have expanded somewhat beyond those boundaries.

These results are borne out by experience in other jurisdictions which suggest that a very focussed and targeted approach to crime prevention is required if there is to be a major impact. Certainly, community policing initiatives such as this must remain flexible in order to respond to community needs. Nonetheless, without more specific guidelines and focus the program may generate considerable positive community response but have no real impact in terms of crime prevention or delivery of policing services.

Previous work shows that different types of policing strategy will work more effectively in some communities than in others. The decision to pursue any particular strategy must take into account the characteristics and needs of the local community. The role, objectives and program focus of the current mini-station were not developed on this basis.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

The intent of the Toronto mini-station, from an organizational standpoint, differed from that of the Detroit model. In Detroit, centralized control was instituted so that the mini-station staff had their own structure and set of reporting relationships. In Toronto, however, it was intended that the mini-station should be an intregal part of the division and zone command structure.

Overall responsibility for the operation of the mini-station was to lie with the Commander of 54 Division, with staff reporting to the Sergeant in whose zone the mini-station was located.

In fact, a number of factors obscured this reporting relationship:

- the mini-station was located on the boundary of two Divisions (54 and 55); this posed problems in terms of authority and responsibility overlap;
- Divisions with different priorities and policing concerns, combined with different levels of staff, made it difficult to provide consistent management direction;
- the special status of the mini-station as a pilot project meant that those within the Force and outside concerned with its development were involved directly or indirectly with decisions regarding both management and program. This created a degree of tension and confusion from a management standpoint.

For similar reasons the mini-station has never been fully integrated into the activities of the zones in which it is located. During the first few months of its existence it was in fact quite isolated, a situation felt keenly by the mini-station officers. Their most active support and contact came from the crime prevention and community relations officers who saw the potential and the resource which the mini-station provided for their particular areas of responsibility.

This situation was recognized and steps were taken to further integrate the mini-station. Sergeants from both Divisions and from Number 5 District were given a mandate to work more closely with the officers and to coordinate planning and decision-making. Contact has become more frequent. Sergeants now visit the station on a regular basis; information regarding occurrences and suspects is provided to the officers so that they are more closely tied into the information system that now provides so much of the focus and direction for police work.

At the same time, however, the mini-station is not taken into account in the planning and resource allocation decisions which take place at the zone level. Rather, it is treated as a quite separate entity.

This lack of integration is not surprising. The mini-station was introduced as an "add on" rather than as a development which arose from zone objectives and needs. Until the mini-station's programs and priorities are set in the context of zone objectives, it is unlikely that complete integration can occur in terms of planning, decision-making, resource allocation and even the attitudes of zone officers.

It must be noted that the current location of the mini-station may make this integration difficult. The overlap into different divisions and zones could mean that the mini-station will face different policing objectives based both the on perceptions of community needs and/or on different priorities in the use of police resources. It is noteworthy, too, that there are other preferred locations for a program of this nature within the zones: that is, there are areas within the zones which are believed to be more in need of the types of services offered by the mini-station than the current location.

STAFFING

Staffing for the mini-station has been an important issue from the outset. Much of the station's success is due to the commitment, effort and initiative of the officers who have been based there.

Experience shows that staffing decisions must be made with care. Officers must be enthusiastic about this kind of police work and must have the particular skills which are required to relate to individuals and groups in the community. A core group of three officers has remained with the mini-station over time. Turnover among other officers has been relatively

high, typically because they found that they did not have the temperment for and/or interest in such work. For instance, some staff interview indicated that they had difficulty adjusting to this type of police work and much preferred activities and responsibilities associated with work in a more traditional police environment. Senior officers have recognized staffing problems relatively early and taken appropriate action.

One of the key staffing issues to emerge has been the duration of an officer's assignment. In the planning stages, it was agreed that officers should spend 12 to 18 months in the mini-station so that they would become familiar with and known to the community. In practice, opinions have differed. Some officers believe that there should be a long-term commitment, while others feel that mini-station duties should be part of an officer's normal rotation. For future consideration important staffing issues are:

- personal suitability will always be a major consideration in policing situations where crime prevention and community relations are the major priorities;
- the idea must be reinforced that a mini-station is an important police operation requiring special skills;
- assignment to the mini-station should not handicap an officer by, in effect, taking him out of the mainstream of police work, thereby affecting his chances for training, promotion, etc.; and
- in some special circumstances, mini-station duties provide an ideal opportunity to use the talents of light duty officers who are unable to take on the full range of police responsibilities; again, personal qualities must still be a part of the decision.

It should be noted that the attitude of other officers towards the mini-station are sharply divided. There are those who see it as a desirable return to more traditional approaches to policing, with officers working

consistently in one community and having high community contact. Others, on the other hand, still see it as being "not really police work". Again, this is not surprising since the mini-station did not emerge from identified policing needs in the community and hence was not fully integrated into the overall police service delivery in the zones.

The mini-station has become the base for a number of auxilliaries who are involved in crime prevention and foot patrol activities. These auxilliaries have expressed considerable enthusiasm with this arrangement and feel that the mini-station provides a positive environment and real impetus for their involvement in police service delivery. Given the type of programs organized and implemented out of the mini-station, the use of auxilliaries in this way is both useful and cost-effective.

BUDGET

An ongoing source of concern for those police personnel responsible for the operation of the mini-station has been the absence of a dedicated budget. A crime prevention and community relations program of this nature involves expenses for materials such as pamphlets and flyers for distribution to the public, as well as for the displays and fittings for use in the mini-station itself.

In the absence of a budget, a great deal of time and effort has been expended in obtaining approval for expenditures and in acquiring materials from other parts of the Force which were surplus or on a loan basis. The mini-station makes presentations to school children and other groups from the community and officers feel that, on such occasions, refreshments contribute to community relations objectives. Again, funds have not been available for such purposes and the officers have, on a number of occasions, provided the refreshments themselves. A measure of community support for the mini-station has been the willingness of people in the community to donate goods and services for mini-station programs.

Approval of a dedicated budget for the mini-station operation would seem essential for its ongoing operation.

CO-LOCATION

It was intended that the police operation should share space with another community service as a means of fostering cooperation in the delivery of service, providing for a better relationship between police and community service personnel and, through this kind of association, changing the image of the police in the minds of the community.

In the proposal for the mini-station project, the rationale for the co-location experiment was presented:

- "The co-location ... provides an excellent opportunity for provision of information to community residents and for cooperation across a broad range of community services".
- "Staff working with disadvantaged youth in Metropolitan Toronto and police personnel will have an opportunity to learn from each other through this co-location experience".

The decision was made to locate the mini-station in a facility which housed two programs providing services to disadvantaged young people. These were the Metro Youth Outreach Program and the Metro Toronto Job Corps.* In both cases, clients of these programs were often young people who had been in trouble with the law.

It was clear from our discussions and review of documentation that staff of the youth programs had significant reservations about sharing premises with the police officers. They indicated that this situation made their job of establishing credibility and building a relationship with their clients more difficult. They cited cases of young people refusing to come into the

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* It is noted that the space at the very rear of the mini-station is used as a workshop where toys and equipment from Metro's Daycare Centres were repaired. The Toy Repair Workshop was in fact the original tenant of 1484 Danforth. This is simply a use of space, with no programing objectives involved.

mini-station when they saw police officers present. They also felt that it undermined the credibility of both their outreach workers and some of their clients - association with the police might brand them as actual or potential informers.

Interviews were conducted with nine of the clients of the previous co-locator (Job Corps) who had attended the Job Corps program at the Danforth site. All but two of those interviewed indicated that they had talked with the police while they were at the workshop. Only one respondent felt that it was not a good idea to have the workshop in the same place as the police officers. Two respondents indicated that they had received specific help from the officers and one had returned to see the officers since leaving.

Most of the Job Corps clients had had contact with police before the mini-station and two of the respondents indicated that their experiences with the police officers at the mini-station were more positive than contacts they had had previously with police. The others felt that the experience with the officers at the mini-station had been the same as those of previous contacts.

Space considerations created difficulties with the co-location experience. Noise levels and a lack of private space affected both the police and community workers in terms of their relationships with their clients.

In part as a result of these concerns, the decision was made to relocate the two youth programs. In the case of the Metro Toronto Youth Corps Program, there were other reasons for relocating (the workshop space at 1484 Danforth had ventilation problems).

In place of the youth programs, it was decided to locate a community worker in the mini-station. This worker was dealing with very different client groups including mothers and senior citizens, and it was felt that there would be more appropriate. This move took place during March 1984.

The Community Development Officer, in fact, spends very little time at the Danforth site. Much of her work is done in the community, and she makes use of another office in the East York Neighbourhood Information Centre. One administrative support person is in the 1484 Danforth office regularly. A relatively small number of community service clients come into the 1484 site to sort out administrative matters, and the site is used occasionally for community group meetings.

The experience to date with the current co-location has included some problems similar to those in the first. Space constraints and noise continue to be problematic. Coordination to ensure that presentations or meetings do not disrupt the activities of the other service has not always been successful. As well, conflicts have strained the communication and cooperation which might have increased the potential for mutually beneficial programming.

In the user survey, it was found that none of the visitors surveyed had used the community service resources available in the mini-station. Similarly, none of the respondents to the Business and Residents surveys who had visited the mini-station had used the community service resources. In fact, only one-third of the residents who had visited the mini-station knew that there were other community services offered at the facility.

Even though none of the users had made use of the other community services, most thought it had potential to be a good idea in improving efficiency and information sharing. The only major disadvantage mentioned by users was lack of privacy in their discussions with the police.

In general, the co-location experience turned out to be a source of considerable tension and frustration throughout both co-locator experiments. Problems occurred relating to noise, lack of privacy, tension between staff and overcrowding. These problems and the efforts to resolve them generated

a great deal of tension and at times channeled efforts away from the main focus of service delivery. Moreover, the co-location objectives were not met in that their was little coordination between services and little awareness of or use by visitors of the co-location.

A number of issues, other than those related to physical space and location, contributed to the apparent failure of this experiment:

- no efforts were made prior to co-location to orient the two groups to the programs, services or people involved in the other group;
- no planning was done to identify the nature of possible joint programing or 'cross-fertilization'. Similarly, no procedures were established for information-sharing or decision-making.
- no assessment was done of the operational considerations (e.g., noise, privacy, security) of the programs in terms of their impact on each other.

Implications for any future co-location experiments suggest that in addition to constraints related to physical space (i.e., the need for security, privacy, etc.), it will be essential for both groups to meet and plan to determine if there is compatability and the potential for mutual advantage.

In the following chapter, we will consider the implications of our assessment of the pilot project, presenting both our conclusions about it to date and recommendations.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This evaluation of the Toronto mini-station pilot program assessed:

- the extent to which the mini-station pilot program met its goals and objectives; and
- the implementation process related to the start-up and first year of operation of the pilot program.

Process considerations were an important focus for the evaluation. This was, in part, because of the need to understand the reasons for results obtained and, in part, because of limitations in assessing impact with any precision. These limitations were a function of the fact that:

- clear goals and objectives were not set for the mini-station in terms of the nature or level of expected impacts or in terms of the specific programs the mini-station officers were to pursue; and
- there existed no baseline data against which changes in terms of attitudes, perceptions or behaviour could be assessed.

CONCLUSIONS

The following presents a summary of the conclusions of the evaluation related to performance against objectives and cost effectiveness.

Performance Against Objectives

While, for the reasons stated above, it is not possible to make any precise assessment of objectives achieved, a general assessment of progress in each of the mini-station's areas of responsibility can be made. In these terms, the evaluation found the following:

- The mini-station has provided crime prevention, community relations and enforcement/investigation service to the community. It provides an opportunity

for more police-community contact on both an individual and group basis. Not only is there **more community exposure to police**, but the **exposure is broader** in terms of range of service.

- The mini-station provided a **focus and impetus for outreach by police into the community.** In addition to work with schools and community organizations, the mini-station assisted the work of the Crime Prevention Officers by becoming the focal point for contacting citizens and disseminating material for Neighbourhood Watch.

- Residents in the mini-station area are **marginally more likely to participate in crime prevention programs and activities.** Community members, in general, showed little motivation to seek out or utilize police resources other than those related to investigation and enforcement. The level of concern about safety in the community was not such that there was a strong predisposition for community members to become involved in crime programs. For those members of the community who are motivated to participate in crime prevention, the mini-station has provided a convenient and useful resource for information and service.

- Residents in the area of the mini-station have a high level of awareness of crime prevention programs and recognize the need for greater community involvement in these. While the mini-station **may have increased an already high level of awareness**, this has not been translated into high levels of involvement. This finding reflects results achieved in most other community policing projects.

- Community members are more likely to utilize the mini-station, and to bring a broader range of requests to it, than other police stations because of proximity, convenience and the positive atmosphere. For community members living in the immediate vicinity of the mini-station, there was clearly **easier access to police services related to crime prevention and some areas of law enforcement.**

- The mini-station officers, in both their proactive and reactive activities, have been able to identify and respond to community needs. Because of their role and their own personal initiatives, they are **more aware of**

and able to respond to broader community concerns than are the regular zone officers whose primary focus is on enforcement. These community interests include:

- more police contact with children and provision of safety/streetproofing information;
- high levels of police visibility (particularly foot patrol;
- the opportunity for positive informal police-public interaction;
- specific 'target hardening' crime prevention information.

- The **co-location experiment has shown no evidence of enhancing the provision of either Police or Community Service programs.** Because of space, noise and other operational issues, it appears to have been more of a distraction than a benefit to this pilot program.
- The **crime rate within a few blocks of the mini-station is lowered** by the police visibility resulting from the existence of the station and the foot patrol activities of the officers. Otherwise, there is no indication that changes in crime rates have occurred in the broader area covered by the mini-station.

In general terms, the evaluation showed that the mini-station has been enthusiastically received by the community. This response is based on the general crime prevention and community relations activities of the mini-station, as well as the public's desire to have their community policed in a traditional sense (i.e., high visibility of police in the neighbourhood). Much of its achievement was due to the initiative, commitment and individual effort of the police officers involved.

Cost-Effectiveness

It is generally agreed that cost-effectiveness will be a key factor in decisions regarding the expanded use of mini-stations as a mechanism for

delivering police services. The experience of this mini-station, however, provides few clear cut answers in this regard. While cost savings have been a major consideration, decisions regarding the project were often influenced by factors other than cost-effectiveness.

Certainly, one can identify in general terms the benefits and direct costs associated with the mini-station. Benefits have been noted in terms of:

- a positive image for the police within their community;
- a greater awareness of crime prevention programs.

While these benefits may not have had a direct impact on community behaviour with regard to crime prevention in the short term, one can only speculate as to the potential long term benefits from such activities as improved rapport between the community and the police, presentations to school children on streetproofing, etc.

Again from a benefit standpoint, the mini-station has to a limited extent reduced the workload of the zone officers. The mini-station officers engaged in some enforcement activities and followed up on occurrences by taking additional information from victims or witnesses. Even though the police presence reduced crime levels in the immediate area, the impact on workload for other officers is likely negligible given the probability of crime displacement to surrounding areas. Policing responsibilities for the mandated area must still be shared with the zone. Without a cruiser at their disposal, mini-station officers simply cannot provide the response time required for incidents other than those which occur within a block or two of the station.

From a cost standpoint, the most significant element has clearly been staff. Six officers devoted to the mini-station represent a significant resource commitment, although a number of factors will provide a more informed perspective:

- these officers work on the basis of a regular five-day work week with no additional costs associated with

overtime for court appearances or for the new shift system;

- some officers were assigned as light duty officers. In most cases this provided the officers with an opportunity to make a much more direct contribution to policing in their community than would have the duties traditionally assigned to two light duty offiers at the division level.

This pilot did provide useful staffing information for this type of policing project. The early experience of the mini-station showed clearly that a complement of three officers was not sufficient to enable the mini-station to take a proactive role in the community. However, it is impossible to say whether with a more explicit statement of mandate and objectives, desired results could have been achieved with fewer than six officers (or indeed whether a larger complement of officers or auxilliaries would have been required).

Other direct costs included space and equipment for the mini-station. As we have noted, however, the space was already leased by Metro and made available to the Force at no cost. Aside from the telephone system and photocopier, much of the other equipment in the mini-station was obtained, sometimes on loan, from other parts of the Force or provided directly by the officers or members of the community.

Overall, it is clear that judgements regarding the cost-effectiveness of a mini-station can only be made where there is a relatively explicit statement as to the objectives and mandate of the station, and where resourcing decisions are made expressly with those objectives and mandate in mind.

INTERPRETATION

Two factors more than any others seem to influence the nature and likely success of a community policing project of this kind -- location and front-end planning. The two factors are, in fact, interrelated and are important considerations, not only for the current pilot project, but also for any future decisions to implement similar projects.

Location

Findings of this study, both from the operational and impact sides, reinforce the fundamental importance of location.

A major consideration in the choice of location for this pilot project was the availability of existing storefront space which could be made available to the Force at no direct cost. In a time of budget restraint, this had to be a key factor in the decision.

Findings of the evaluation revealed a number of community characteristics which have direct implications in terms of what could be expected from the mini-station in its current location.

- There was no evidence of a **community relations** problem which required focussed attention in the community. While it is clear that the mini-station strengthened existing positive attitudes, the extent to which this was needed or, in fact, could be measurably improved is questionable.
- The level of involvement in **crime prevention** activities was considered to be low at the time the location was chosen. While there appears to have been a marginal increase in community involvement in crime prevention, the fact that there was not a greater impact is not surprising given what is known about the relationship between concern about crime and involvement in prevention.
- It is clear that the **visibility** of police in the immediate vicinity has had an impact on crime. Had there been a significant level of street crime in the area to begin with, the impact would probably have been even greater.

Overall, given the characteristics of the community in which it was located, the mini-station probably achieved as much as could be expected in that location during its first year of operation.

Needs Assessment, Planning and Community Involvement

The mini-station represents a form of community policing, which experience has shown, requires careful front-end planning so that goals and objectives are:

- based on an assessment of community needs;
- realistic in that they are attainable within a reasonable timeframe; and
- specific in terms of programs and target populations (e.g., to increase the number of households participating in Neighbourhood Watch, within a given area).

In the current situation there was no systematic assessment of policing needs in the community prior to the decision on location and program. The mini-station was introduced as a stand-alone pilot project rather than as a planned response to specific needs in a specific community.

Researchers in the community policing field have noted an apparent lack of significant measurable success from various types of community policing projects. There is a growing feeling that this may be due to the 'ad hoc' approach to implementation in which 'good ideas' are put into effect without adequate planning.

- Locations and strategies are chosen without consideration of community characteristics and needs. Recent research suggests that factors such as community cohesiveness, nature and level of crime, level of concern about or fear of crime, existing community organizations, and pre-existing police/community relations, are important in determining the policing strategies which are needed and likely to be effective in any given community. Policing experiments that do not emerge from and respond to specific local concerns and situations are unlikely to achieve significant impact;

- A lack of measurable success may be related more to an inappropriate match between strategy and site than to the strategy itself; and

- Awareness/knowledge and positive attitudes toward police do not necessarily translate into crime prevention actions on the part of the public.

Ultimately, for a community policing strategy such as a mini-station to be cost-effective, it must emerge from and respond to policing service delivery needs in a particular geographic area. In Toronto, this clearly requires planning and decision-making at the zone level. Such planning at the zone level involves an assessment of zone policing needs within the context of overall Force policy and objectives and with input from the community itself in defining community problems and needs.

Also to be taken into account in planning for community policing strategies, such as the mini-station, is the issue of timeframe. In setting out objectives and expected outcomes, planners should determine a realistic timeframe for attainment of objectives. Depending on its specific objectives, a particular mini-station may be set up to operate on a short-term or long-term basis. For example, if the focus is on community involvement in specific crime prevention activities (e.g., target hardening), then it is likely that a period of two or three years of focussed activity in that area is all that would be required or perhaps

cost-effective. It is important that the objectives and expected timeframe for the mini-station are clearly articulated to the community.

Once decisions are made to implement a community policing strategy, it is important to continue to inform and involve the community. Clearly, depending on the objectives of a community policing strategy, there are a variety of methods for encouraging community involvement. Indeed, if budgetary constraints are an issue, community participation can be a useful approach to offsetting costs. Models which include co-location, the use of community facilities (e.g., churches, community centres, etc.) for meetings, or the use of volunteers or auxiliaries can be considered in this regard. Decisions relating to such models should, however, be made in the context of:

- the specific objectives of the community policing strategy;
- the program components of the strategy; and
- operational considerations related to security, privacy, etc.

There is no one model that is appropriate in all cases. Decisions relating to this and other features of a mini-station (or any other community policing strategy) must be made on a case-by-case basis.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Metropolitan Toronto Police Force should consider pursuing the mini-station option as one of a number of legitimate community policing strategies for responding to clearly identified policing needs emerging from Force and zone planning activities. The option should not be used simply to promote general community policing objectives - the costs associated with the strategy are justifiable only in the context of furthering specific zone objectives.

2. Given the current situation in the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, any decisions regarding establishment of other mini-stations should emerge only from planning at the zone level, within the context of overall Force policy and objectives.

   2.1 The location and program of the station should be designed as a specific response to an identified policing service need in that zone (whether that be law enforcement, crime prevention or community relations). The zone planning activities should include community input.

   2.2 An assessment should be made to determine:

   - the nature and level of crime;
   - the nature and level of concern about safety and crime;
   - specific needs or problems in terms of particular geographic locations or particular target groups;
   - community attitudes toward police and policing needs;
   - the level of community cohesiveness;
   - the number and scope of existing community organizations.

This information will assist in determining whether a mini-station is an appropriate strategy for that community and what the objectives and programs of the mini-station should be.

2.3 Other options (e.g., intensive foot patrol, expanding the resources and mandate of crime prevention officers, etc.) for delivery of the identified service need should be considered and compared on the basis of costs and benefits and complementarity or overlap with existing services in the zone.

3. If a mini-station is judged to be the appropriate option in response to an identified community need, then the following should be undertaken:

- Baseline data on community needs, attitudes and behaviours should be established.
- The option (including role, location and program) should be designed in a very focused fashion in terms of specific objectives and priorities and a specific timeframe.
- A budget adequate for programming needs should be established.
- The mini-station's activities should be integrated within the zone.

4. Co-location should not be considered a necessary component of the mini-station option. Depending on the objectives of any particular mini-station, some model to facilitate community involvement may be desirable. Options include co-location, use of community facilities and use of volunteers and auxiliaries. Decision-making about such options should include an assessment of:

- specific objectives of the community involvement;
- expected benefits and outcomes;
- operational constraints related to program activities;
- complementarity of programs and staff; and
- procedures for orienting participants and for ensuring constructive communication and co-operation.

5. Staffing of a mini-station in terms of both numbers of officers and their skills must be determined on the basis of the role, objectives and programs of the particular mini-station.

6. In light of recommendations 1-5, it would be inappropriate for a decision to be made about continuation of the mini-station at 1484 Danforth Avenue without the required planning and assessment by the Divisions involved in the context of the Force's policy and objectives and available resources.

   6.1 The Divisions involved should undertake planning and assessment to determine whether the current location meets zone needs and priorities, in light of the positive community response to the mini-station and, at the same time, what appear to be marginal benefits. The overall policy and objectives of the Force and the available resources must also be taken into consideration.

Appendix 1

Community Characteristics

APPENDIX 1 - COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

The community characteristics presented below are based on 1981 data by census tracts. Census tract was the smallest unit of measure available. Since the mandated area of the mini-station did not match census tracts precisely, an approximation of the area was obtained with the following boundaries: Cosburn Avenue (to the North), Donlands (North of Milverton to the West), Greenwood (South of Milverton to the West), CNR tracks (to the South), and Woodbine (to the East).

	Mini-station Area	All Metropolitan Toronto
Population	26,000	2,137,395
Density (persons per sq.km)	7,812	3,401
Land Area	3-1/3 km	628-1/2 km
Age Groups:		
14 and younger	20%	19%
15-24	17%	19%
25-64	50%	52%
65+	13%	11%
Family Information		
Persons per Family	3.17	3.12
Total Families	6,875	554,155
Housing Information		
Housing Tenure		
Owned	82%	51%
Rented	18%	49%
Housing Type		
Single detached	42%	35%
High Rise	0.3%	34%
Other	57%	31%
Mother Tongue Information		
English	61%	68%
Italian	16%	8%
Greek	8%	2%
Chinese	5%	3%
Other	10%	19%

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